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ABSTRACT

The International Communication, Part 2 section of the Proceedings contains the following 8 papers: "Split Images: Arab and Asian Political Leaders' Portraits in Major U.S. News Magazines" (Hye-Kyeong Pae); "Public Relations Functions and Models: U.S. Practitioners in International Assignments" (Alan R. Freitag); "The Influence of Ideological Perspective on Three North American Chinese-Language Newspapers' Framing of China's Resumption of Sovereignty Over Hong Kong" (Jui-Yun Kao and William A. Tillinghast); "'This Game Is Brought to You Commercial-Free': A Comparative Analysis of World Cup Soccer Television Coverage in Germany and the U.S." (Christian Kaschuba); "Front Pages of Taiwan Daily Newspapers 1952-1996" (Ven-hwei Lo, Anna Paddon, and Hsiaomei Wu); "Problematizing Comparative Studies, Institutional Research Environment and Feminist Perspectives in Japanese Television Drama Discourse" (Eva Tsai); "Transnational Journalism and the Story of Aids/HIV: A Content Analysis of Wire Service Coverage" (Nilanjana R. Bardhan); and "Giving Peace a Chance? Agenda-Building Influence of Nobel Peace Prize Announcements in U.S. Newsmagazines, 1990-1997" (Michelle M. Tedford). (RS)

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Split Images: Arab and Asian Political Leaders' Portraits in Major U.S. News Magazines

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Split Images: Arab and Asian Political Leaders' Portraits in Major U.S. News Magazines

The mass media have unquestionably affected many aspects of human life. They influence the way we perceive others and interact with one another, and shape our perspective of the world. At times, the mass media play a crucial role in image formation of others in many situations. Thus, the mass media can be seen not only as a driving force behind cultural and social value judgment but also as an index for image-shaping of other people (Tan & Suarchavarat, 1988; Mowlana, 1995).

Exposure to the mass media may be a primary means by which people perceive and interpret other cultures and values through a process of categorization. Since many people rely on the mass media for information gain about events, issues, and cultures of foreign countries due to limited personal experience, the media have become powerful in creating and shaping images about other people and their nations. At times, the media as a cultural mechanism promote stereotypes and perpetuate stereotypical biases. The way of portraying other people in the media may have an impact on how people interpret the issues of international relations and determine people's perspective of the world.

Because of the constant reportage of the U.S. media on a barrage of disasters, uprisings, conflicts, and terrorist activities in the Middle East, the American public perceives the Middle East as a strange and dangerous region which is far from reality (Shaheen, 1983). All-pervasive Arab stereotypes have been found in comic books, contemporary fictions, and television comedies, and U.S. Social Studies text books (Terry, 1983; Shaheen, 1983; Jarrar, 1983).

Gerbner (1995) also points out that there are various stereotypes of Arabs, such as terrorists, villains, fanatics, or buffoons in a wide range of American films from Arnold Schwartzenegger's *True Lies* through Hanna-Barbara's *Arabian Nights* to Disney's *Aladdin*.

In general, the Middle Eastern or Asian countries are considered as a single entity and people of the regions tend to be described as "they are all alike," even though the lands are characterized by geographic and cultural diversity of history, religion, ideology, language, and political orientation. The region can not be understood accurately apart from the recognition of abundance of distinctive cultures, religions, and languages. The tenacious stereotype leads us to fail to recognize that each country has unique aspects of history and national characteristics, including variations in public values and interests.

A large body of research has investigated the stereotypes of minorities who reside in the U.S. (Taylor & Stern, 1997; Taylor, Lee, & Stern, 1995), but significant gaps are evident in the literature of media portrayal of Arabs and Asians who live in their own countries. The issue of cross-national comparison in stereotypes of media portrayal has been partially neglected and few studies have examined such stereotyping in more than one country concurrently. Comparisons of stereotyping across nations can provide a better understanding of image-shaping and its relationship with cultural factors.

The Purpose of the Study

To examine how the media present other countries and their people, this study provides current data on the substance of political leaders' portraits. It is assumed that the process that people build up an evaluative image of a political leader is similar to the process they form the images of the particular nation and its people. In other words, the basic assumption underlying this study is that the image of a political leader in a particular country is a barometer of the nation's public image. The image of a political leader becomes associated with the images of people in a given nation because people tend to generalize a stereotype of a limited sample to all possible group members (Devine, 1995). Due to a limited contact with other people, the perception of other people takes the form of meaningful social categories and thus people may easily generalize the characteristics associated with the political leader to the laypeople of a particular nation. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to investigate how Middle Eastern and Asian political leaders are portrayed in the major U.S. news magazines.

A magazine makes up an important part of the mass media and provides a quality-communication vehicle to highlight and showcase many features about public opinion. A magazine informs, entertains, and influences a reader in a nationwide level because it affects and reflects ideas, opinions, and attitudes (Hashem, 1995). A content analysis is often conducted to reveal the purposes, motives, and other characteristics of communicators as they are reflected in the content of news article. The purpose of this paper is to examine U.S. media portrayal of Arab and Asian political leaders in three news magazines and to provide insights into the global picture of image-making through content analysis. Three research questions guided this study: (1) How did the U.S. major news magazines deal with Arab and Asian political leaders? (2)What types of leaders' images did news magazines most often present in news articles? And (3) how did media portrayal of a Middle Eastern and Asian leaders differ from one another?

Middle Eastern countries was defined in this paper as an extensive region, based on Islamic law, custom, and culture, stretching from the borders of Iran in the east through North Africa, including Sudan, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco. The region of Asia includes the areas within the geographic boundaries of Asia: East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, and Central Asia.

CONCEPTUAL GROUNDWORK

Theories of Stereotype in Social Science

The impetus for the research of media effects on the formation of stereotypes is based on cross-cultural social psychology, Bandura's (1977) social learning theory, and Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, and Signorielli's (1994) cultivation hypothesis. The theoretical approach rooted in the tradition of social psychology views a stereotype as one group's generalized belief system or value judgment that shapes our memory and evaluation of other group. It explains the formation of impressions through the cognitive process of categorization. People often see others not as individual persons but as members of social groups through past experiences and social learning (Devine, 1995). The increasing cross-cultural interaction with the advance of technologies has led many researchers to examine the effects of social categorization on perceptions of others. It is generally assumed that the stereotypes serve as important guidelines for individuals in their perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors toward others.

People tend to separate elements into groups through the process of categorization or stereotype. The stereotypes provide "pictures in our heads" (Lippman, 1922), shaping our memory and evaluation of others. The term stereotype first acquired its scholastic meaning in Walter Lippman's classic book *Public Opinion* (1922). Lippman argued that we create a set of cognitive simplifications (i.e., stereotypes) in order to make sense of social environment and interact with others.

Stereotype offers preconception and general expectation about social groups through meaningful categorization and simplification. This simplification often build up misconception or negative stereotype about out-groups. Devine (1995) argues that stereotypes can be automatically activated, providing "default" basis for responding in the presence of members of the stereotyped group or their symbolic equivalent. Stereotypes tend to yield prejudice which is commonly defined as negative feelings toward other people and lead to several information-processing biases through perception, interpretation, and retention (Devine, 1995).

Social learning theory concerns the learning that occurs within a social context. It focuses on how people learn from one another and encompasses such concepts as observational learning, imitation, and modeling. This theory explains how we learn by observation or modeling in the formation of personal values, beliefs, and attitudes. According to Bandura (1977), most human behavior is learned through observation because opportunities for direct experience are limited. Social learning theory is particulary associated with the formation of social stereotypes because most parts of images we perceive are first observed in the mass media (Tan & Suarchavarat, 1988). Therefore, the mass media can significantly extend the domain of what we can learn by exposure to modeling attitudes and behaviors of social reality that we do not have any contact with (Tan & Suarchavarat, 1988). Accordingly, frequent portrayal of foreign people in news articles may have an impact on the formation and maintenance of steady social stereotypes about foreign countries among American public, especially when other resources and personal contacts with foreign cultures are limited.

Gerbner *et al.*'s (1994) cultivation hypothesis assumes that television content provides recurrent patterns of sketch as a source of perceptions of social reality and is incongruent with the real world. According to Gerbner *et al.* (1994), people grow up in a symbolic environment in which the repetitive pattern of television content cultivates stable images of the world and its people. The discrepancy between media representation and the real world results in grounds of misrepresented information about the nature of the real world (Gerbner *et al.*, 1994). The amount of exposure to the mass media may influence in part the way of interpreting the agenda of real world. Thus, among heavy media users, according to Gerbner *at al.* (1994), television cultivates false views of the world through long-term accumulation of mediated experiences.

Studies of Media Effect and Social Stereotypes

Although stereotypes toward others are generally learned from personal experiences and primary social groups, such as family and peer groups, the mass media may serve as an important agent in shaping social stereotypes, particularly in cross-cultural situations where direct personal experience is limited. Early studies on the formation of stereotypes across cultures found that heavy exposure to television facilitated intense stereotypes about people from other cultural and ethnic groups, even though people do not have direct contact with such group. Two studies by Tan and his colleagues (1988, 1986) found that American television aired in foreign countries was a major root of social stereotypes of Americans held by heavy viewers of American television in Thailand, Taiwan, and Mexico. The images transmitted via the media tend to be internalized and widely accepted as accurate representations of reality by foreign audiences. This effect was especially salient when the televised images were obvious and consistent and when information about foreign countries was lacking from other resources.

Factors Influencing International News Coverage

Galtung and Ruge (1965) introduced twelve factors with regard to the selection of foreign news and examined their influence on the newsworthiness of international events. They suggested that events tend to become news if they meet the following conditions: frequency, threshold, intensity, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, predictability, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, and relevance to elite nations, elite people, or something negative. Rosengren (1974) offered several related concepts in the study of international news: degree of the importance of the events, physical or cultural distance of the events, and degree of the predictability of the events.

Hester (1973) conducted the study of international news and information flow from the international relations perspective, offering some propositions about the determinants of news and information flow among national systems. These determinants involve the hierarchy of nations, cultural affinities and economic association between nations, and news and information conflicts. Chang, Shoemaker, and Brendlinger (1987) attempted to identify the factors that differentiate the international events that are covered in the U.S. news media from events that are not. Results show that four variables contribute significantly to the discriminant function in distinguishing between covered events and not-covered events: normative deviance of an event, relevance to the U.S., potential for social change, and geographical distance.

Other studies show that political and economic system strongly determines the way the media present issues and events to the public. For example, Keshishian (1997) points out the politico-economic theory that news reporting is politically biased in that it reflects the political-economic interests of the country that produces the news as a determinant of media reportage. Chomsky (1989) also argues that the media in the U.S. serve as "adjuncts of government" (p.75) to shape public's thought and understanding in the interests of domestic privilege, reflecting U.S.

policy.

METHODOLOGY

Sample

To examine the research questions dealt with the coverage of foreign political leaders, a content analysis of news articles from October 1997 to September 1998 in *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News and World Report* was conducted. The time frame of sample relied on the most current data available at the point of data collection. The world report, international, and business sections of the three magazines were scanned for references to the regions of Middle East and Asia. The data included all the entries containing information of both regions. Within the selection of news items covering the regions, a content analysis focused descriptively on the coverage frequency of each country within the sample, and then the analysis of language emphasized the identification of various biases through language used in news articles.

The analysis was based not on the space allotted in the magazines but on the language used to describe political leaders with special emphasis on the presence of loaded words and expressions and on general contextual impressions presented. A unit of analysis was a word, phrase, or sentence that entails a slanted expression or bias. The aim here was to identify what was reported about a political leaders and to determine how it was presented. To examine how the news was reported, each bias was evaluated for its direction as either favorable, neutral, or unfavorable. In general, an expression was considered neutral unless it contained words that made the expression either favorable or unfavorable concepts that were emotionally charged or have a potential to evoke in the reader's emotions. A total of 249 entries (127, Asia and 122, Middle East, respectively) was analyzed. A news story was defined as any general news item, analysis piece, feature article, or editorial. Although photographs or editorial cartoons contribute to convey messages and information, they were omitted in the analysis because the focus was placed solely on the text.

Definitions of Variables

For the purpose of coding, bias was defined as a tendency to form settled favorable or unfavorable opinions on the basis of the language usage in a news article. In other words, bias was operationalized as the language of the news reports contained positive or negative concepts that had a slant in the presentation or contained the potential to evoke in the reader favorable or unfavorable emotions.

The objective here was to assess the frequency of slanted expression in order to formulate a global picture of portrayal. Accordingly, the emphasis was not put on a hidden or covert presentation.

The language used to depict the political leaders was primarily categorized by five biases: (1) nominal bias, (2) adjective bias, (3) adverbial bias, (4) contextual bias, and (5) figure-of-speech bias. These categories are a modification of John Merrill's (1965) model in early research on media stereotypes of three U.S. presidents in *Time*. In studying the stereotyped images of Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy presented in *Time*, Merrill primarily relied on the parts of speech such as verbs, adjectives, and adverbs, in addition to contextual and photographic biases.

A nominal bias concerns a class of words referring to an entity, quality, state, action, or concept that contributes to shape a reader's perspective. For example, the words such as a *terrorist* or *madness* were considered as a nominal bias since those words create certain negative reactions.

An adjective bias attempts to build up an impression of the person described. This is accomplished by using adjectives like *fanatic* or *gruesome* associated with the person.

An adverbial bias depends on adverb qualifiers or magnifiers (Merrill, 1965), including adverbial clauses or phrases, to create an impression. Often this adverbial bias reinforces another bias expression already presented. This technique creates a favorable or unfavorable impression in the mind of the reader by generally indicating how or why a person said or did something (Merrill, 1965).

A contextual bias designates bias in a whole sentence or paragraph, or in other unit of meaning, even an entire story. The purpose is to present the person reported on in a favorable or unfavorable light by the overall meaning, innuendo, or euphemism of the report, not by specific words and phrases alone. For example, the expression of "He is worse than Hitler" was considered as this type of bias.

A figure-of-speech bias considers a word or phrase denoting one kind of object or action is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them via either metaphor or simile. A metaphor is an implied comparison (as in *a sleeping beast*) in contrast to the explicit comparison of the simile (as in *like the head of snake*.)

Since language is complicated and intricative, its analysis should involve multiple layers of interpretation. In addition to the part-of-speech bias, the next step was taken to determine how the leaders were reported by focusing on the features of bias in terms of degree of favorableness: balance bias, central-image bias, credibility bias, and political-propensity bias.

A balance bias covers mental and emotional steadiness as a leader lacking partiality or unfairness.

A *central-image bias* deals with how the person is manifested as a leader. For example, such words as a negotiator, terrorist, and enemy fall in this category.

A credibility bias matters whether the central figures are believable or likable. Sources of credibility include authority, sincerity, and honesty as a leader.

A political-propensity bias relates to political inclination or disposition of a leader.

All categories are mutually exclusive. Coders were asked to use a Likert-type scale of 1 (unfavorable) to 6 (favorable) to rate the degree of positive or negative description portrayed in each article. The scales of 1 and 2 were rated as unfavorable, and 3 and 4, neutral, and 5 and 6, unfavorable, respectively. Each occurrence of biased expression was counted. Some articles had more than one bias, while others contained no bias at all.

In case some news stories could be categorized in more than one category, the story was placed in the appropriate category according to the major topic in the context of the entire story. An "other" category was labeled so as to detect an unusual bias, but an effort was made to diminish this category.

Intercoder Reliability

To ensure the reliability of coding, another Georgia State University graduate student, in addition to the author, was selected to code the sample of stories. To test the reliability of the testing instrument, two pilot studies were conducted. The intercoder reliability was calculated by Holsti's (1969) formula and was .902. Holsti's method has been criticized because it does not take into account the occurrence of some coder agreement and the amount of function of the number of categories in analysis. To take this into account, Scott's (1955) *pi* was calculated: it was .859.

In assessing intercoder reliability, twenty-five percent of the articles were randomly selected and coded independently. The other coder was given a written guideline containing operational definitions and rules for classifications of each variable, and was asked to classify the product category by using a list of nine categories.

RESULTS

In order to gauge how language structured the image of a leader, the frequency of each magazine was descriptively compared (Table 1), and then analysis of language classified slant expressions in news articles. The data were aggregated by country. The country most frequently described in the sample was Iraq, while certain countries had no coverage, as shown in Table 1.

Of coded items of the Middle East, Iraq received the majority of coverage (45%), regarding the conflict between Saddam Hussein and U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM) for weapon inspection. Saddam Hussein and the United Nations weapon inspectors in Iraq were constantly in the news during the time frame of the sample. Also, after the new president in Iran, Mohammed Khatami, who won a landslide 70 percent of the vote in May of 1997 promised to relax the social restrictions, the coverage of Iran boosted. Israel comprised 15 stories, accounting for 12.3 percent, with regard to Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Natanyahu's deal that would transfer chunk of West Bank territory to Palestinian control.

In the Asia sample, the news magazines covered China most reporting the President Clinton's visit and the matter of human rights. China received 37 percent of total coverage, followed by Japan (18.1%) and South Korea (13.4). Except the news stories of China, most

Table 1. Coverage Frequencies of Arab and Asian Political Leaders

Countries	*Time*	*Newsweek*	*US News & World Report*	**TOTAL #**
Albania	0	0	1	**1 (.8%)**
Algeria	0	1	1	**2 (1.6%)**
Egypt	0	1	4	**5 (4.1%)**
Iran	8	4	7	**19 (15.6%)**
Iraq	18	17	20	**55(45.1%)**
Israel	2	5	8	**15 (12.3%)**
Jordan	1	2	2	**5 (4.1%)**
Kuwait	0	0	2	**2 (1.6%)**
Lybia	0	0	1	**1 (.8%)**
Palestinian	1	3	2	**6 (4.9%)**
Saudi Arabia	0	2	5	**7 (5.7%)**
Sudan	1	0	3	**6 (4.9%)**
Total	**31 (25.4%)**	**35(28.7%)**	**56(45.9%)**	**122**

	Time	***Newsweek***	***US News & World Report***	**Total**
China	18	19	10	**47 (37 %)**
Hong Kong	2	4	2	**8 (6.3%)**
Indonesia	4	9	3	**16 (12.6%)**
Japan	7	5	11	**23 (18.1%)**
North Korea	2	2	3	**7 (5.5%)**
South Korea	4	5	8	**17 (13.4%)**
Malaysia	2	3	0	**5 (3.9%)**
Singapore	1	0	1	**2 (1.6%)**
Thailand	0	2	0	**2 (1.6%)**
Total	**40 (31.5%)**	**49 (38.6%)**	**38 (29.9%)**	**127**

Note: $F_{.05,2,60} = .241$, $p = .787$

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Table 2. The Part-of-Speech Biases

Countries	Nominal (%)	Adjective (%)	Adverbial (%)	contextual (%)	Figure-of-Speech (%)	Total (%)
Albania	0	0	0	1	0	**1 (.6%)**
Algeria	0	0	0	1	0	**1 (1.6%)**
Egypt	0	0	1	4	0	**5 (2.8%)**
Iran	2 (7.1)	15 (53.6)	0	10 (35.7)	1(3.6)	**28 (15.8%)**
Iraq	39 (43.8)	27 (30.3)	9(10.1)	11 (12.4)	3 (3.4)	**89 (50.3%)**
Israel	2 (22.2)	2 (22.2)	1 (11.1)	4 (44.4)	0	**9 (5.1%)**
Jordan	4 (33.3)	3 (25)	1 (8.3)	3 (25)	1 (8.3)	**12 (6.8%)**
Kuwait	0	0	0	2	0	**2 (1.1%)**
Lybia	0	0	0	0	1	**1 (.6%)**
Palestinian	1 (9.1)	2 (18.2)	4 (36.4)	4 (36.4)	0	**11 (6.2%)**
Saudi Arabia	1 (6.7)	3 (20)	2 (13.3)	9 (60)	0	**15 (8.5%)**
Sudan	0	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	1 (33.3)	0	**3 (1.7%)**
Total	**49 (27.7)**	**53 (30)**	**19 (10.7)**	**51 (28.8)**	**5 (2.8)**	**177**

	Nominal (%)	Adjective (%)	Adverbial (%)	Contextual (%)	Figure-of-speech (%)	Total (%)
China	4 (18.2)	4 (18.2)	2 (9.1)	7 (31.9)	5 (22.7)	**22 (18.8%)**
Hong Kong	0	1	0	1	0	**2 (1.7%)**
Indonesia	7 (23.3)	5 (16.7)	2 (6.7)	11 (36.7)	5 (16.7)	**30 (25.6%)**
Japan	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	1 (12.5)	5 (62.5)	0	**8 (6.8%)**
North Korea	7 (21.2)	15 (45.5)	4 (12.1)	2 (6.1)	5 (15.2)	**33 (28.2%)**
South Korea	3	2	0	2	2	**9 (7.7%)**
Malaysia	2	2	0	3	1	**8 (6.8%)**
Singapore	0	1	0	1	0	**2 (1.7%)**
Thailand	0	1	0	2	0	**3 (2.6%)**
Total	**24 (20.5)**	**32 (27.4)**	**9 (7.7)**	**34 (29.1)**	**18 (15.4)**	**117**

Note: - Percent in parenthesis.
- $F_{(.05,4,95)} = .220$, $p = .927$

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news articles have dealt with Asian economic crisis.

A one-way of analysis of variance yielded no significant differences among coverage means of three news magazines ($F_{.05,2,60} = .241$, $p = .787$). Of 249 stories, *Time* presented 28.5 percent of overall total coverage; *Newsweek*, 33.7 percent; and *US News and World Report*, 37.9, respectively.

Table 2 reports the language analysis as to how much bias was devoted to each of five biases: nominal, adjective, adverbial, contextual, and figure-of-speech bias. Although the study lumps geographically each region together for analysis, it is important to point out the diversity within the region in terms of political characteristics and ideology. Saddam Hussein was more likely to be portrayed as a "terrible dictator," "liar," and "war criminal" than any other leader, primarily relying on noun (43.8%) and adjective (30.3%). That is, more explicit or direct description was devoted to depict Saddam Hussein. The description of Iranian president, Mohammed Khatami, contained various adjective usage such as "powerless," "weak", "enlightened", and "soft-spoken." On the other hand, the leaders of Israel and Saudi Arabia that are known as U.S. Allies, were indirectly portrayed in a contextual interpretation rather than using direct descriptors. (See Table 2)

Like Saddam Hussein, the leader of North Korea, Kim Jung Il, was depicted as a "rogue," "quirky leader," "goof," and "buffoon," along with various adjectives such as "dangerous," "worrisome," "aggressive," "goofy," "eccentric," and "ruthless." The description of Kim Jung Il was associated with more direct expression such as a nouns (21%) and adjectives (46%) than indirect illustrations (6%). Indonesia's thirty-two-year "dictator" Suharto was described as ineffective colony of Washington, and Suharto's adopted son and his successor, Habibie, was sketched as a "crackpot," "Suharto's lap dog," "a harebrained schemer," and "Habibie is more mad scientist than politician." Other political leaders were portrayed in various ways. The stereotypes of other leaders were expressed in a more roundabout fashion: biases were more likely embedded in indirect context. For example, in the description of Malaysian Prime Minister Mohathir Mohamad, one news article describes that "he claims the world's tallest skyscraper was the proof of his wise leadership."

A two-way analysis of variance yielded no significant difference in frequency of biases and no significant interaction between the regions and bias frequency ($F_{.05,4,95} = .220$, $p = .927$).

In order to take a closer look at the characteristics of languages used, the feature of bias was broken down into balance bias, central-image bias, credibility bias and political-propensity bias. In the Arab sample, the variable of central-image bias contained 67 portrayals, accounting for 37.9 percent of the total bias, followed by credibility bias of 53 (30%). Asian leaders were associated with more stable treatment among balance bias (27%), central-image bias (28%), and credibility biases (27%) than Arab leaders. Overall description of Table 3 showed that more negative stereotypes were devoted to depict Middle Eastern political leaders than those of Asia: Arab leaders were identified with 64 percent of negative bias, while Asian 45 percent.

It should be noted that although the overall image of Middle Eastern leaders appeared to be negative, it is hard to conclude that all leaders were portrayed negatively since biases about Saddam Hussein comprised 50 percent of total bias. To take the limitation of this pooled data into account, the image of each country's leader was tallied in terms of favorableness (Table 4). Table 4 provided more detailed information about individual difference of the leader of each country.

Table 3. Degree of Positive and Negative Portrayals in the Type of Biases

(Middle East)

Biases	*Negative*	*Neutral*	*Positive*	*Total*
Balance	20	16	3	**39 (22.0%)**
Central Image	46	9	12	**67 (37.9%)**
Credibility	36	3	14	**53 (30.0%)**
Political Propensity	9	2	5	**16 (9.1%)**
Other	2	0	0	**2 (1.1%)**
Total	**113 (63.9%)**	**30 (16.9%)**	**34 (19.2%)**	**177**

(Asia)

Biases	*Negative*	*Neutral*	*Positive*	*Total*
Balance	12	14	5	**31 (26.5%)**
Central Image	19	11	3	**33 (28.2%)**
Credibility	15	9	7	**31 (26.5%)**
Political Propensity	6	10	4	**21 (17.1%)**
Other	1	1	0	**2 (1.7%)**
Total	**53 (45.3%)**	**45 (38.5%)**	**19 (16.2%)**	**117**

Note: - Since this represents pooled data, the information does not provide an image of an individual leader.
- $X^2 = .867$, d.f = 2, $p < .005$

Table 4 concerns creation of a favorable or unfavorable impression in the reader's mind by the language described in news articles. Saddam Hussein was the central figure in negative description in the sample: 89.9 percent of unfavorableness and 2.2 percent of favorableness. The news magazines discussed major issues of U.N. weapon inspection on Iraq and its problems extensively and reflected certain realities and changes in several countries. They depicted Iraq and other countries as lacking democracy, unity, and modernity. While the leaders of Iraq and North Korea were described as a terrorist, a charismatic leader, or a savage dictator obsessed

Table 4. Degree of Favorableness of Language Used in News Articles

Countries	*Unfavorable*	*Neutral*	*Favorable*	*Total (%)*
Albania	1	0	0	**1 (.6)**
Algeria	1	0	0	**1 (.6)**
Egypt	2 (40)	2 (40)	1 (20)	**5 (2.9)**
Iran	11 (39.3)	7 (25)	10 (35.7)	**28 (15.8)**
Iraq	80 (89.9)	7 (7.9)	2 (2.2)	**89 (50.3)**
Israel	1 (11.1)	3 (33.3)	5 (55.6)	**9 (5.1)**
Jordan	5 (41.7)	3 (25.0)	4 (33.3)	**12 (6.8)**
Kuwait	0	1	1	**2 (1.1)**
Lybia	1	0	0	**1 (.6)**
Palestinian	4 (36.4)	3 (27.3)	4 (36.4)	**11 (6.2)**
Saudi Arabia	5 (33.3)	3 (20.0)	7 (46.7)	**15 (8.5)**
Sudan	2	1	0	**3 (1.7)**
Total	**113 (63.8)**	**30 (16.9)**	**34 (19.2)**	**177**

	Unfavorable	*Neutral*	*Favorable*	**Total**
China	**5 (22.7)**	**10 (45.5)**	**7 (31.8)**	**22 (18.8)**
Hong Kong	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2 (1.7)**
Indonesia	**18 (60)**	**10 (33.3)**	**2 (6.6)**	**30 (25.6)**
Japan	**3 (37.5)**	**5 ((62.5)**	**O**	**8 (6.8)**
North Korea	**23 (69.7)**	**9 (27.3)**	**1 (3)**	**33 (28.2)**
South Korea	**1 (11.1)**	**5 (55.6)**	**3 (33.3)**	**9 (7.7)**
Malaysia	**2 (25)**	**4 ((50)**	**2 (25)**	**8 (6.8)**
Singapore	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2 (1.7)**
Thailand	**1**	**1**	**1**	**3 (2.6)**
Total	**53 (45.3)**	**45 (38.5)**	**19 (16.2)**	**117**

Note: - Percent in parenthesis
- ($F_{.05,2,57} = .413$, $p = .663$).

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with conspiracy theories and cheating tactics, the leaders of Israel, Saudi Arabia, Palestinian, China, and South Korea were positively portrayed with a relatively high percentage of neutral depiction. By taking off the outliers, Saddam Hussein in Arab and Kim Jung Il in Asia, the results showed the degree of favorableness was similar in both areas: the unfavorable bias of Arab countries except Iraq comprised 37.5 percent, while that of Asian except North Korea 35.7 percent. The images of North Korea's and Indonesia's leaders evoked unfavorable impression in reader's mind: 70 percent of North Korea and 60 percent of Indonesia involved negative portrayal. Compared with Middle East, overall, news articles of Asian leaders contributed to create a relatively moderate, balanced portrayal.

These results indicated that although Arab portrayal remained to some extent negative, there was a slight positive shift, compared with the previous evidences of Gehareeb (1983). This shift may be explained by the new alliances that took place during Gulf War and the Arabs' willingness to negotiate peace with Israel and accept its existence in the region. However, there was no evidence of an image change of Asian leaders due to lack of previous research.

A two-way analysis of variance yielded no significant difference in frequency of favorableness and no significant interaction between the regions and the degree of favorableness ($F_{.05,2,57} = .413$, $p = .663$).

DISCUSSION

The following are the overall findings of the language analysis in this study partly supporting the previous studies. First, the magazines used more direct descriptor bias, adjective and nominal bias for Saddam Hussein, Kim Jung Il, Suharto, and Habibie than contextual bias, while they relied on indirect, contextual descriptions for U.S. allied countries such as Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait, and other Asian countries.

Second, the results of the study revealed that there was a *split image* and asymmetrical portrayal depending on political orientation of Middle Eastern and Asian leaders. The magazines generally described the leaders of Israel, Saudi Arabia, China, and South Korea as "liberal," and "brave," while those of Iraq and North Korea were seen as "a rogue," "mad," "ignorant," and "bloodthirsty." Interestingly, acts of terrorism committed by an Iraqi and North Korean were labeled for what it is, "terrorism," but terrorism committed by an Israeli was usually justified as "a right to fight back." As shown in Table 4, Saddam Hussein was described in most negative way: 89 percent of unfavorableness and 2 percent of favorableness. The leaders in Saudi Arabia, Israel, China, and South Korea were described in comparatively favorable ways. In other words, the common depiction showed those leaders exhibiting positive traits.

Third, the constant coverage of Iraq concerning U.N. Special Commission for weapons inspection and Asian economic crisis supports the contention that news magazines in the U.S. pays more attention to the nations affecting American interests than to other countries (Hashem, 1995). The U.S. did not regard the Thai or Malaysian economy as vital to the American interest at the onset of Asian economic crisis. When the Asian contagion reached the Korean peninsula in September 1997, however, the U.S. could no longer soft-pedal the problem, in part because South Korea is the world's eleventh largest economy, America's fifth biggest trading partner, and home base for 37,000 U.S. troops who guard the border with a hostile, if starving, North Korea.

In a similar vein with politico-economic theory (Keshishian, 1997), news reporting of Arab and Asia is politically slanted in that it reflects the political-economic interests of the

Unites States in dealing with the international news. There is a correlationship between political and economical relations and the coverage of such news, and the status of these relations is reflected in both the amount of the news and, more importantly, the feature of language used in news article.

Finally, in line with previous studies, the results showed that there still remained some of the stereotypical images as they have been in the U.S: about two thirds of biased language created unfavorable impression in Arab sample and 45 percent in Asian sample. This evidence delineate that international news is subject to international diplomacy. When the interests of other country parallel those of American, more attention tends to be given to news favorable to that country because it is associated with American interests as well (Chomsky, 1989).

Gehareeb (1983), along with many others, accuses U.S. media of discrediting the Arabs and creating false realities by using hyperbole, euphemism, association, and extrapolation of the weakest evidence. However, it is important to note that the results of this study show that direct, negative portrayal of political leaders except Saddam Hussein has been diminished to some extent, compared with Gehareeb's (1983) previous results, because strong, negative portrayals concentrated primarily on the president of Iraq, not much on other leaders. In a sense, news coverage in the magazines seems to be in the progress of becoming more balanced and neutralized than ever, in spite of some biases.

FURTHER RESEARCH AGENDA

Several issues deserve attention for further investigation in the future. First, a study of a longitudinal comparison is strongly recommended. A longitudinal investigation which involves the collection of data at different points in time could establish patterns overtime to trace net changes and shifts in dealing with the images of foreign leaders. Since the sample was collected from only one point in time, this study does not provide a picture as to how the media portray of Middle Eastern and Asian political leaders has changed over time, although it addresses a vague sketch of image-change judging from previous study.

Next, further study on how the stereotypic media portrayal affects the public's perception and its society is also suggested. Future study may deal with agenda-setting effects in terms of the relation between news agenda and public agenda, using poll data. Although the study provides considerable information about the actual nature of foreign leaders' portraits, we still do not know the effect of constant reiteration of media portrayal because a content analysis *per se* does not identify the effects of the content upon the attention, attitudes, or behaviors of media consumers. The surface of various portrayals, therefore, necessitates the measurement of media user's response to different types of portrayals of foreign leaders.

Finally, a historical inquiry as to how the images of foreign political leaders has been established positively or negatively on the basis of world history would be useful, since that kind of study would provide insight into the history underlying the U.S. media's handling of foreign leaders. It would be virtually impossible to catalog all of the mechanisms by which the images of good Israel and Saudi Arabia and an evil Saddam Hussein and Kim Jung Il have been formed because this study does not attempt to draw historical background to examine the type of portrayal.

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Int'l

Public Relations Functions and Models:

U.S. Practitioners in International Assignments

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The United States has arguably been at the vanguard of public relations practice for a century or more and remains at the cutting edge (Cutlip, Center & Broom, 1985, ch. 2), but the application of the craft's skills, techniques and methods has spread rapidly to many parts of the globe in recent years (Culbertson & Chen, 1996, p.1). The question must be asked whether U.S. leadership within the public relations arena will continue. Sharpe's (1992) analysis of his personal experiences succinctly summarizes what is happening. "The leap in advancements in the development of public relations in other countries...frequently astounds a United States visitor," he says. "In fact advancements that have taken us nearly a century to achieve have been accomplished in a decade in many countries. Many of the professional accomplishments we are still working toward in education and in our professional organizations have already been achieved in less developed countries" (p. 103). Epley (1992) pointed out that: "Ten years ago, all of the world's five largest public relations firms were American owned. Today, only one is" (p. 111).

What has occurred, and continues to occur, in the practice of public relations is the same sweeping trend that has affected virtually all dimensions of society: Exponential progress in transportation and communication technology commingle with tectonic political changes to alter the fabric of global commerce and exchange. At the same time, unique cultural differences restrict the development and application of universal templates for public relations practice. The result is a vastly redesigned and dynamic playing field with a host of component forces reshaping the traditional public relations strategies and tactics that have characterized practice in the United States and which U.S. practitioners have tended, ethnocentrically, to export and superimpose globally as universal absolutes. This is an approach not likely to meet with success given inherent cultural differences which affect human communication.

This study is based upon the Grunig and Hunt (1984) four-stage public relations model concept and upon Broom and Dozier's (1986) role classification theory. Because Grunig and Hunt describe their two-way symmetrical model as characterized by taking into account relevant publics within each public's social, political and economic contexts, it would seem intuitive that practitioners embracing and exercising that model would be more attuned to the sensitivities and dynamics of translating public relations activities from one culture to another. Similarly, one might deduce that Dozier's public relations *manager*, more engaged as he or she would be in providing advice and counsel, would recognize more fully the cultural variations affecting those social, political and economic contexts than would Dozier's *technician* who would be concerned more with producing public relations products under the guidance of the manager.

Literature Review

The concept of the four-stage public relations model was first articulated by Grunig and Hunt (1984) who proposed an evolutionary model of public relations development based on each stage's goals, environment and organizational behavior. They defined the stages as:

I. The Press Agent/Publicity Model
II. The Public Information Model
III. The Two-way Asymmetric Model
IV. The Two-way Symmetric Model

The first stage, representing the earliest phase of formal public relations practice, reflects stress on publicity, minimum targeting of communication efforts, and a journalist-in-residence approach to communication issues. They suggested this model would be dominant in small, stable, non-competitive organizations low in complexity with simple products and services.

The second stage -- the public information model -- is characterized by a perceived need to keep the publics informed and to generate favorable publicity for the client or organization, but to operate in a one-way communication mode, refraining from seeking meaningful input or feedback from those publics. Accurate information on the organization is disseminated, but unfavorable information is not volunteered.

The third stage introduced increasing audience segmentation, greater focus on client credibility, and the active seeking of public feedback, if only to gauge the effectiveness of the communication campaign (asymmetric). Grunig predicted it would be most dominant among large organizations with highly complex knowledge requirements, large-scale demand and production, high environmental constraints and considerable uncertainty.

The fourth stage, considered by some to be normative, stresses the establishment and cultivation of long-term relationships with highly segmented publics, and ascertainment of public needs, attitudes and opinions before, during, and following design and implementation of the campaign (symmetric). Grunig said this model was more likely to be found among organizations with small-scale demand and production, high knowledge requirements, considerable complexity, and moderate environmental constraint, but high uncertainty. It's most associated with educators and theorists.

The researchers suggested that all four stages could be found in contemporary use, with the preponderance of practitioners employing the second, or public information stage as the dominant model. Every organization, however, operates in different modes at different times and in different circumstances, they posited.

Researchers have found, though, the propagandistic press agency model dominant in nearly all organizational types, with government public relations the most significant exception, reflecting the public information model (J. Grunig, 1984; Ossareh, 1987; Schneider [aka L. Grunig], 1985; Wetherell, 1989).

Subsequent to Grunig's introduction of his theoretical models, other scholars have tested the concept in various settings. VanSlyke Turk (1985) attempted to verify the appropriateness of the Grunig model by applying the indices to state government public relations operations in Louisiana. She found signs of all four models functioning in each agency.

Reagan, Sumner and Hill (1992) tested the usefulness of the model measurement indices for gauging individual, as opposed to organizational, philosophical practice. They found support for differentiation between one-way and two-way modeling, but not between symmetric and asymmetric modeling. Still, they cautioned against abandoning that aspect of the Grunig theory, but rather called for refinements of the indices to permit the measurement of finer gradations.

Leichty and Springston (1993) drew heavily on leadership theory and pointed out that in the three asymmetric models, persuasive techniques are used to bring publics in line with the organizations, while in the final, symmetric model, information exchange is stressed, with a goal of mutual understanding and respect.

Other communication scholars have described modifications to this Grunig and Hunt multi-stage theory, especially in consideration of public relations practice outside the United States. Van Leuven (1996), for example, examined the development of public relations practice in Singapore and Malaysia and presented an alternative pattern. He found in these two Southeast Asian nations a three-stage process from nation building, to market development, and finally to regional-interdependence. Still discernible, however, in Van Leuven's three-stage process is a gradual move from one-way to two-way communication.

Signitzer and Coombs (1992) link the four models, when applied to an international setting, with models of public diplomacy. The press agent/publicity model, they say, is essentially a propaganda model, employing an aggressive language policy. The public information model equates to a self-portrayal approach in which the concern is for comprehension. The two-way asymmetric model mirrors the information model of public diplomacy wherein no change in one's own behavior is expected. The two-way symmetric model equates to a dialogue view of public diplomacy, with change a possibility on both sides. The first two models the authors categorize as ***cultural diplomacy***, while the latter two they consider to be ***cultural relations***.

Grunig, Grunig and Dozier (1996) endorse Murphy's (1991) mixed-motive model -- one in which an organization pursues its own objectives while at the same time seeking to help a public achieve its objectives. They make a point also, in response to some criticism of the theory, that the two-way symmetrical model was never conceived to be one of accommodation. Further, Grunig (1998) refutes those who say he views the two-way symmetrical model as merely normative. "Not so," he says. "I said the relationship between the model and such variables as organizational structure and environment is normative -- not the model itself. The symmetrical model is actually practiced."

Especially significant for this study is Grunig's contention that, "The best predictor of which model is practiced is the availability of knowledge to practice the model." If practitioners enter upon international assignments with limited awareness of the two-way symmetrical model they are not likely to exercise that level of practice in the assignment.

It would seem intuitive that practitioners subscribing to or exercising one of the one-way models or a two-way asymmetrical model would be less likely to consider an international assignment to have unique challenges requiring preparation beyond that required for an intranational assignment. A two-way symmetric model advocate, on the other hand, would seem more apt to recognize and appreciate those unique characteristics and to support tailored preparation. L. Grunig (1992), in fact, makes a strong case that meeting the goals and interests of both the organization and the organization's publics is increasingly important when the organization enters the global arena.

Similarly, the functional role filled by the practitioner may affect attitudes and behaviors related to international public relations practice. Broom and Smith (1979) identified four public relations roles that traditionally define tasks carried out by practitioners:

- Expert prescriber
- Communication facilitator
- Problem-solving process facilitator
- Communication technician

There have been a number of subsequent variations to this typology suggested, and Dozier (1983) recommended reduction to just two categorical roles: managers and technicians, with the first three roles described above comprising the collective management role, and the technician category occupied solely by the last role cited.

Broom (1982) found that respondents said they played each of the four roles to varying degrees. Expert prescriber topped the list, followed by problem-solving process facilitator, communication technician, and finally communication facilitator. Interestingly, though, role dominance differed by gender. Both women and men cited expert prescriber as dominant, but women placed communication technician second, while men identified communication technician as their least frequently employed role.

Significant positive correlations were identified by Lauzen (1994) between the management role and involvement in organizational issue identification and analysis, with message construction, and construction of strategic plans. The implication they drew was that application of the management role was associated with membership in the dominant coalition.

Brody (1985) accepted Broom's definitions, but, like Dozier (1983), described the distinctions as two dominant roles -- manager and technician -- with the first role subdivided into the three categories of expert prescriber, communication facilitator, and problem-solving process facilitator. Further, Brody said, his survey of 82 organizations revealed two secondary roles: media relations and communication liaison.

Reagan, Anderson, Sumner and Hull (1990) also found that the roles compressed more clearly to just two. The first three roles -- expert prescriber, communication facilitator, and problem-solving process facilitator -- were highly correlated, and a clear statistical distinction could be made only between those three managerial functions collectively and the communication technician function. They also found that managers appear to play all three associated roles at one time or another.

Similarly, Anderson and Reagan (1992) maintained that only the two roles of management and technician were empirically supported, and that those in the management role generally play a combination of the three sub-roles.

Leichty and Springston (1996) inject a word of caution regarding the concept of the two roles. It's a mistake, they say, to believe that the management and technician roles are mutually exclusive, and cite several data sets which even suggest a positive correlation, suggesting the possibility of a hybrid role which combines the two.

Survey results for this project were intended to reveal whether practitioners in international assignments are more inclined to function in management or technician roles. The distinction is important since Epley's (1992) discussions with public relations managers reveal a deep concern that practitioners too frequently limit their efforts to the technical tier, eschewing opportunities to influence strategic planning. This, Epley says, can diminish credibility of service. "We need to elevate our level of counsel and execution in order to be more effective and be accepted as an integral part of the marketing or management team" (p. 113), Epley cautions. To exercise influence on the behavior of multinational organizations, public relations practitioners must earn a role within the organization's dominant coalition; that will only be accomplished through effective performance at the management level.

L. Grunig (1992) echoes that concern, observing that too often the term *public relations* is used interchangeably with *media relations*, trivializing the scope of the profession by limiting its scope to the technical function. On an international scale, practitioners tend to stress incidental differences such as the "idiosyncrasies of the foreign press," but would be of greater benefit to clients if they broadened the scope of their function to include issue analysis and strategic communication counsel.

Even considering only two distinctive roles, one can entertain the possibility that respondents in one category may report attitudes and behaviors dissimilar to the other pertaining to international assignments. For instance, a technician, seeing his or her contributions to a communication campaign in a much narrower scope, may be less likely to express the need for extensive cultural preparation than would a public relations manager whose vision extends to broader goals and objectives, though both would arguably benefit considerably from such preparation.

Method

A four-page survey instrument containing 23 items was designed to address a litany of objectives. Among them, and salient to this paper, were:

- ✓ Frequency and duration of international public relations assignments
- ✓ Functional role fulfilled during international public relations assignments
- ✓ Structural approach to international public relations assignments
- ✓ Functional role fulfilled in U.S. public relations practice
- ✓ Structural approach to U.S. public relations practice

Review of extant literature revealed no directly related previous forays into this area, hence the need to cast a wide net in order to begin to discern potential areas for more narrowly focused, in-depth future research.

In addition to demographic and other data, respondents reported and categorized the extent of their overseas experience, both personal and professional. Questions described the four primary functional roles and asked each respondent to indicate the percentage of his or her time spent in each of the described functional areas during international assignments. This permitted identification of a dominant role, if one existed, for each respondent.

Other questions provided plain English definitions of organizational models and asked respondents to gauge the degree to which they agreed that each of the four model definitions described their organizations' approach to international assignments. This permitted an assessment of the dominant model for each respondent, as well as correlations with a number of other variables.

Similar questions asked respondents to provide percentages reflecting time spent in each of the four defined functional areas, but in their current U.S. positions, and asked respondents to assess their organizations' adherence to particular models in terms of U.S. public relations practice.

The target population from which the sample was drawn were members of the Public Relations Society of America. While not all U.S. practitioners belong to PRSA, the argument is that its 18,000 members constitute the world's largest organization of practitioners. The survey was distributed to a simple random probability sample of 1997-98 members. Desired sample size was set at roughly 400 in order to achieve a 4% sampling variability for 50/50 response proportions and a 95% confidence interval (see Stemple & Westley, 1989, p. 162). Assuming a response rate of 33%, that required the initial mailing list of 1,200 randomly generated names. The single-wave return rate achieved was 35.33%, or 424 usable surveys. A pilot test preceded the full survey.

Results

Respondents' ages ranged from 23 to 78 years with a mean age of 44.05 (*SD* = 11.28). Experience in public relations practice ranged from 1 to 45 years with a mean of 16.40 (*SD* = 9.24). Age distribution indicates most sampled practitioners fall in the 30 to 54 age category with sharp drop-offs both below and above that range. Professional experience levels revealed strength in the 4- through 25-year zone.

Of the 424 respondents, 177 (41.7%) were male while 247 (58.3%) were female. Position classifications revealed corporate public relations as the dominant category followed by nonprofit/not-for-profit public relations and agency public relations, with consultants, government public relations practitioners and public relations educators represented by much smaller groups.

When distinguishing time spent outside the United States solely in a professional public relations capacity, 31.4% (f = 133) of practitioners reported having had international experience of this nature. Two-thirds of U.S. practitioners have not accumulated any professional experience outside the United States, though one in four has accumulated one month or more. Roughly one in nine practitioners has spent a year or more professionally outside the United States.

Respondents with international experience, asked to gauge the percentage of time they spent in each of the four functional areas in their international assignments, responded as indicated in the first two rows of Table 1. All respondents provided similar information for their U.S. public relations activities and those data are shown for comparison in the third and fourth rows of the same table.

TABLE 1
Percentage of Time Spent in Functional Roles -- International Assignment vs. U.S. Practice

	Communication Technician	*Problem-Solving Process Facilitator*	*Communication Facilitator*	*Expert Prescriber*	*Other*
International Mean	35.97	21.32	9.88	19.92	12.40
International Median	25.00	15.00	5.00	10.00	0.00
U.S. Mean	34.67	18.00	14.26	24.56	8.55
U.S. Median	30.00	15.00	10.00	20.00	0.00

n = 129 for international rows
n = 420 for U.S. rows

U.S. practitioners in this sample, when undertaking international assignments, have operated in the mode of communication technician more than in any other, with problem-solving process facilitator the next most common functional mode. Third is expert prescriber, though Kim and Hon (1998) have expressed concern that survey respondents may inflate this category because the expert prescriber role may be perceived as the most professionally desirable. "If participants think an item represents the ideal, they give comparatively high scores," (p. 159) they say.

The "other" category is fourth among respondents with regard to international experience, exceeding by a small margin the communication facilitator mode, but this may stem from a lack of clarity in the survey instrument and even in the original categorical definitions. Of the 27 respondents reporting time spent in "other" activities in international assignments, about half indicated this represented event planning; such activity ought likely to be incorporated into the communication technician function. Remaining entries in the "other" category were in three broad areas: education/training; advertising/marketing; and administration.

Recall, however, that a number of researchers have recommended collapsing three of the categories (problem-solving process facilitator, communication facilitator, and expert prescriber) into a single "management" category. If that is done for international assignments (simply by adding the mean percentages for the three categories), we find that the communication technician role, with its mean of 35.97%, is well behind a "management" mean of 51.12%.

Management dominance is not so evident, however, when analyzing individual categorical dominance (identifying the role receiving the highest percentage score). Of the 129 respondents who completed this question, 37.2% (*f* = 48) clearly identified communication technician as the dominant function performed in their international experiences. Problem solving was dominant for

13.2% (f = 17) of the respondents, communication facilitating was dominant for 2.3% (f = 3), expert prescriber was dominant for 17.8% (f = 23), and "other" dominated 14% (f = 18) of respondents' experience. Another 15.7% (f = 20) did not indicate a clearly dominant category, but rather listed a combination of two to five categories as being equally representative of their activities. As a result, even if the three "management" categories are summed, they still reveal that 33.3% (f = 43) of respondents feel management dominated their activities -- still fewer than the number who identified communication technician activities as dominant. Further, of the 20 respondents indicating some combination of equally dominant functions, eight included communication technician in that combination.

Table 1 also reveals that the communication technician role remains dominant in the U.S. environment with a mean percentage very similar to that for international practice, but that the expert prescriber role is elevated considerably from international results. That increase for the expert prescriber role appears to have been at the expense of the problem-solving facilitator role to a small extent, but more at that of the "other" category; there were far fewer respondents who indicated involvement under "other" in special events and training for U.S. practice. The communication facilitator role was markedly more prominent when reflecting respondents' U.S. activities.

As was the case for international practice, while the communication technician role is dominant for U.S. practice, if the remaining three roles are collapsed into a single "management" role, the situation is altered. In that case, the collective "management" mean percentage is 56.82 -- well in excess of the communication technician percentage mean.

Again, however, when identifying the role most frequently chosen by respondents as the dominant role, the communication technician role tops the list. Of 420 respondents who completed this question, 42.6% (*f* = 179) said they spent the most time involved in communication technician activities. Problem-solving facilitating topped the list of activities for 5.7% (*f* = 24) respondents, and communication facilitating occupied the majority of their time for just 2.4% (*f*= 10). Expert prescribing was the primary role for 23.3% (*f* = 98) of sampled practitioners. "Other" was the leading category for 8.6% (*f* = 36) respondents, and 17.4% (*f* = 74) indicated a combination of two to five categorical functions equally described their activities.

For dominant percentage selections, even when the three non-technical categories are converted to a collective "management" role, they constitute 31.4% (*f* = 132) of members of the sample -- still less than the communication technician role alone. And of the 74 who indicated equally dominant combinations, 42 of those included the communication technician role in their combinations.

When functional mean percentages for U.S. practice and international experience are compared among only those with international experience (*n* = 126), the differences achieve statistical significance in three of the four cases for Paired-Sample T-Tests. Among this sample subset, the mean percentage for communication technician is 35.79 internationally, but just 26.03 in the United States ($p < .001$). For problem-solving facilitator in the United States the mean percentage is 21.51 and 19.43 internationally (no significance). The communication facilitator mean percentage is 9.80 domestically, but 15.44 internationally ($p < .001$). Finally, the expert prescriber mean percentage is 19.76 internationally, but 30.16 in the United States ($p < .001$). It would appear practitioners with both international and U.S. experience are functioning at the communication technician mode to a far greater extent in their international assignments than in the United States, while favoring the management functions at home.

Using the same approach, Table 2 permits comparisons of public relations roles for U.S. practitioners at home and in international situations. Gauging each of the four Grunig and Hunt (1984) structural models on an agreement scale of one through five, with one indicating low agreement and five high agreement, respondents provided their assessment of how their organizations approached professional practice in both environments. Results indicate a dominance of the press agent/publicity model in both instances.

TABLE 2
Comparative Level of Agreement: Organizational Models -- U.S. vs. International Assignment

	Press Agent/ Publicity Model	*Public Information Model*	*Two-way Asymmetric Model*	*Two-way Symmetric Model*
International Mean	3.37	2.89	2.35	2.23
International Median	4.00	3.00	2.00	2.00
U.S. Mean	3.49	2.64	2.96	2.8
U.S. Median	4	2	3	3

n = 122 for international rows
n = 413 for U.S. rows

Again, a pattern emerges indicating the dominance of the craft or one-way models over the professional or two-way models. While researchers have previously indicated that practitioners within the United States were operating primarily in the craft mode, these data suggest that U.S. practitioners operating outside the United States do likewise, but with greater emphasis on two-way models domestically.

Using for these models the same technique that was used for functional roles, mean scores were compared for statistical significance for only those respondents with international experience and who completed both sets of questions ($n = 116$). This time, statistically significant differences between models applied in the United States vs. international settings, based on Paired-Sample T-Tests, occurred only for the two-way models. The U.S. mean score for the two-way asymmetrical model was 3.03, but dipped to 2.34 internationally ($p < .001$). The U.S. mean score for the two-way symmetrical model was 2.72, but fell to 2.22 internationally ($p < .001$). U.S. and international mean scores for the one-way models were not significantly different. Once again it seems that U.S. practitioners -- even those who have ascended the hierarchical ladder of organizational models -- are less likely to apply those models in international settings.

Though it was not the aim of this research project, a number of statistical tests were conducted to determine if gender were a factor in reported results, since previous public relations researchers have found significant gender differences in a variety of public relations areas. Here, too, a powerful gender distinction appears in regard to functional role fulfilled in international assignments. Sampled women practitioners reported a mean of 45.57% of their time in international assignments spent in the communication technician mode, while men reported spending a mean of just 29.28% of their time in that capacity ($n = 129, p = .010$). Men's mean percentages for each of the three management roles were higher than those of women respondents, but the differences were not statistically significant. Women respondents completing international assignments also reported lower adherence to both two-way models than did men, but the differences fell short of statistical significance.

Discussion

Broom's (1982) survey revealed that PRSA members employed each of his four functional roles to varying degrees, but that the hierarchy of roles in practice placed expert prescriber first, followed in turn by problem-solving process facilitator, communication technician, and communication facilitator. This survey found somewhat different results. For U.S. assignments, respondents identified communication technician as dominant, followed by expert prescriber, problem-solving process facilitator, and communication facilitator -- prescriber and technician exchanged positions in relation to Broom's findings. For international assignments, technician still dominated, but the remaining order placed problem-solving facilitator second, followed by expert prescriber and communication facilitator. Broom's effort, of course, was far more focused than was this effort. Also worth considering is the lengthy gap between the two surveys: The dominance of the technician role in this project might be explained, for example, by the expanded membership of PRSA to include more entry-level, technician-oriented practitioners.

Still, the dominance of the technician level and of the one-way models is troubling. Decades of practice characterized by one-way, publicity-seeking communication behavior has left a somewhat tarnished image for the profession, but there is strong pressure from within the industry itself to improve that perception, not simply for the sake of the profession, but because it's the right thing to do. For instance, Culbertson and Chen (1997) borrowed the tenets of Etzioni's (1993) work on communitarianism to develop a normative theory for its application to public relations practice. Insight into the need to apply normative concepts on an international scale may help improve public relation's image, but the apparent dominance of limited sophistication in the conduct of international public relations activities by U.S. practitioners, revealed here, does not augur well.

An important consideration, based on survey responses, is that model and functional role theories need to be expanded to accommodate at least two dimensions reflecting recent public relations trends. The first, related to this project, is the need to consider the impact of internationalization of the profession. Perhaps what Gomez (1992) referred to as "social communication" needs to be integrated with the elements of the two theories. Model theory, for example, may need to go beyond the one-way/two-way communication dichotomy to incorporate Hall's (1977) high-context vs. low-context communication patterns or Hofstede's (1980) power distance syndrome as mitigating factors. A high-content/low-context practitioner unfamiliar with these concepts might, for example, believe she is applying two-way communication techniques, but may not understand the feedback from a low-content/high-context public; the question must then be asked whether two-way flow is truly occurring.

The survey is limited first by one overarching shortcoming: that it included only members of PRSA. Choosing to use only the PRSA membership list was based on several factors. First, many practitioners belong to more than one professional organization and achieving a truly random sample would have necessitated complex cross-referencing to avoid duplication. Second, since this effort was interested solely in U.S. practitioners, organizations with more global membership would have required sifting of the list; PRSA certainly boasts international members, but is overwhelmingly national. Third, with more than 18,000 members PRSA is the largest organization of its type, therefore conceivably more representative of the profession. Despite these justifications, results must be considered in light of these factors affecting external validity.

The response rate of 35% is respectable for a mail survey, but might have been increased with a second-wave effort achieved through the distribution of an additional mailing. Studies indicate a second-wave can result in as much as a 10% increase in response rate, though the 424 usable responses compare favorably with previous studies concerning this and related research subjects.

The use of a single question to ascertain, in one case, the functional role carried out by a respondent and, in another case, the model of practice employed is far from ideal. Studies which address these areas more exclusively rely upon series of questions, subsequently subjected to alpha testing, in order to categorize these factors more accurately. While that approach would be preferable, it would also render the survey instrument unacceptably long when incorporated with the other areas addressed in this survey.

This is a promising data set with many possibilities for analysis beyond those addressed in this report. In addition, results point toward a variety of potentially promising areas for further, more detailed study.

For example, coupling these quantitative data with in-depth interviews would offer even richer context and additional areas for potential quantitative study. The gender-driven disparities revealed statistically by the survey suggest, for example, the likelihood that women practitioners may describe very different experiences when discussing international encounters.

Of course, the most obvious application of this research toward further investigation in the discipline would be the use of these methods in examining the public relations practice in other nations. Adapting the survey instrument to determine functional models applied and organizational models employed among Argentine, South African, Czech, and Thai practitioners, for instance, would be very instructive.

In addition, applying the cultural syndromes described by Hall (1977), Hofstede (1980), and Triandis (1996) to model and function theories would provide a rich field of exploration. For example, research might determine whether two-way, symmetric modeling is more prevalent in high-feminine cultures with their stress on nurturance and social support. Or perhaps cultures with high power distance would reveal more definitive hierarchical delineations among practitioners than the simple, two-tier management/ technician profile discernible in the United States.

More work could be done in determining the effects of more complex cultural barriers on advancement in models and functions practiced. Those barriers include the political-economic system, the culture, the extent of activism, the level of development, and the media system. Each area promises fertile ground for further research.

There may come a time, perhaps soon, when the term ***international public relations*** becomes unnecessary. Indeed, an argument can be made already that there is no such thing as ***national public relations***. The news release launched on the Worldwide Web, the video footage bounced off a satellite, the news interview conducted via teleconferencing, along with other traditional public relations techniques supported by new and emerging means of transmission, communication and transportation, have no respect for national borders. On a grander scale, the goal of long-term relationship building in a world grown increasingly mobile presents challenges and complexities requiring entirely new skill sets for practitioners faced with serving organizations whose success depends upon ongoing, productive exchange with those mobile publics. Practitioners who bring to the table the ability to operate at the most sophisticated leadership and management levels are the ones who will excel personally and, moreover, elevate the status of the profession.

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THE INFLUENCE OF IDEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THREE NORTH AMERICAN CHINESE-LANGUAGE NEWSPAPERS' FRAMING OF CHINA'S RESUMPTION OF SOVEREIGNTY OVER HONG KONG

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ABSTRACT

The Influence of Ideological Perspective on Three North American Chinese-Language Newspapers' Framing of China's Resumption of Sovereignty Over Hong Kong

This content analysis of the tone and news framing of China's *China Press*, the *World Journal* owned by a Taiwanese news group, and the *Sing Tao Daily* owned by Hong Kong interests found that newspapers did follow a pro-government stance on the issue of China regaining sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997 and that content of the three newspapers differed significantly from each other before and after the return.

The Influence of Ideological Perspective on Three North American Chinese-Language Newspapers' Framing of China's Resumption of Sovereignty Over Hong Kong

The return of Hong Kong to China on July 1, 1997 ended 155 years of British colonial rule and began an experiment of practicing western capitalism and democracy under communist sovereignty. Deng Xiaoping's "one country, two systems" principle is also considered a means of recovering China's lost island, Taiwan.

A number of studies on the impact of Hong Kong's return to China emphasize the political change, people's confidence and economic progress (Bottomley, 1989; Goodman, 1988; Lau, 1992; Sum, 1995). Media studies focused more on press freedom than on news content (Chan & Lee, 1989, 1991a, 1991b; Fung & Lee, 1994; Keller, 1992; Lee & Chan, 1990; Lee, 1985; Lee, 1993; Sciutto, 1996). For example, Chan and Lee (1991b) concluded that "the structural transformation of the power configuration causes journalists to change their perceptions and attitudes" (p. 309).

One study, which examined coverage of the Hong Kong issue in different countries, examined the assumption that media took a pro-government position in covering foreign affairs. Chan (1994) compared coverage in the *London Times,* the *New York Times* and the *People's Daily*. The conclusion was that neither *Times* followed a pro-government policy although the *People's Daily* did.

While it might be logically assumed that the People's Daily pro-government view is a result of its ownership by the Chinese government and the Communist Party, there might be other causes not apparent in a comparison with two newspapers whose governments, or whose readers, are not as politically or emotionally involved. This becomes increasingly important given the less-than-smooth transition from British to Chinese control over Hong Kong.

This study seeks to examine whether other privately owned newspapers might also exhibit pro-government positions on this topic given an overwhelmingly interest because of its implications. This study will focus on the issue of the Hong Kong return, comparing coverage of three Chinese-language publications in North America: China's *China Press*; the *World Journal*, owned by a Taiwanese newspaper group; and the *Sing Tao Daily*, owned by Hong Kong interests.

Sovereignty Issue Background

The less-than-smooth transition became apparent as early as 1972 when China became a permanent member of the United Nations. China indicated then that Hong Kong, including the island, Kowloon peninsula, New Territories and outlying islands, were part of the Chinese domain. In 1984, Great Britain finally agreed to China's sovereignty and discussions on Hong Kong's future resulted in China declaring Hong Kong's present system would be retained after the agreed-upon return on July 1, 1997.

In 1990, the Basic Law, the "mini-Constitution" for Hong Kong was promulgated which granted Hong Kong a high degree of autonomy and the retention of the capitalist system and existing way of life for 50 years. This included such fundamental rights as freedom of speech, religion, trade, travel and social welfare (Miners, 1995; Shipp, 1995). Also in 1990, the Hong Kong government increased the number of direct-elected legislative members from 10 to 18 with the remaining seats elected by constituency groups or appointed by the governor. The following year, 16 of the 18 seats were won by pro-democracy candidates and in 1992. Hong Kong Governor Chris Patten proposed increasing the number of direct-elected seats from 18 to 20 as well as lowering the voting age from 21 to 18, and creating nine new functional constituencies which would include all working people. This would increase voter participation from 1.1 million to 2.7 million (Shipp, 1995; Cheek-Milby, 1995).

Although China objected, Patten eventually achieved the electoral reform in 1994 at which point China said the reform closed the door on further Sino-British talks and that the elected legislature would be terminated when China resumed sovereignty. In 1995, the Preparatory Committee was established to oversee Hong Kong's transition from British to Chinese sovereignty following the breakdown of Sino-British talks. The 150-member PC was led by the Chinese foreign minister and included 56 members from China and 94 from Hong Kong's business, political, professional and academic groups (Keesing's Record of World Events, 1995). The PC voted 149 to 1 in 1996 to replace the Legislative Council with a provisional council after the return. A 400-member selection committee, composed mostly of pro-Chinese business groups and political parties voted to select shipping magnate Tung Chee-hwa as the chief executive of post-colonial Hong Kong.

Many of these activities, as well as the Chinese crackdown on student demonstrators in 1989, created much global discussion and news coverage, particularly in news organizations with vested interests in the Hong Kong return. In addition to newspapers in China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, Chinese-language newspapers for readers in other parts of the world also focused on the issues. This included publications in North America, which have three distinctly different Chinese audiences, Cantonese from Hong Kong, as well as immigrants from China and from Taiwan.

The Three Newspapers' Backgrounds

This study focuses on these three major Chinese-language newspapers in North America, one from each perspective, and all with differing ideological perspectives. The *China Press*, owned by the Chinese government, is by definition a pro-government publication aimed at immigrants in North America from China. In contrast are the *World Journal*, representing generally an opposite viewpoint for readers originally from Taiwan and in-between, the *Sing*

Tao Daily from Hong Kong, more aligned with a Taiwanese viewpoint but cognizant of the fact that Hong Kong would revert to China's control.

The press in China are owned and controlled by the Chinese Communist Party and the government and are totally integrated with the political structure as a propaganda weapon to make the masses conform to party policy. Freedom of the press is interpreted and modified by party ideology and philosophy (Zhang & Kraus, 1995).

China's 1978 open-door policy generated some media reform, discussion of capitalist economies and social achievement in Western societies and coverage of some negative aspects of Chinese society and official corruption (Hong & Cuthbert, 1991; Zhang & Kraus, 1995).

The *China Press* was founded in New York in 1990 by the Chinese government, mainly to cover China's economics and political progress for immigrants from China. It has become one of the larger Chinese-language newspapers in North America, in addition to the *World Journal*, the *Sing Tao Daily*, and the *International Daily News* (1996 R.O.C. New Media Yearbook; China Journalism Yearbook, 1995).

The government of Taiwan effectively controlled the island's mass media since the Kuomintang arrived in 1949 and imposed martial law, which was not lifted until 1987. The government restricted the number of newspapers to 31, half published by the government or military, limited size to 12 pages per issue and imposed price control (Rampal, 1994; Gunther, Hong & Rodriguez, 1994). The press had to avoid press offenses listed in the publication law and some political taboos against leaders and policies. Since the lifting of restrictions, the number of newspapers has risen to more than 100 newspapers. Several newspaper groups have developed, including the United Daily News which began publishing the *World Journal* in North America in 1974 as a private, financially self-reliant pro-KMT newspaper. It has offices in San Francisco and New York. Its North American circulation reaches 250,000, half of the total Chinese-language newspaper circulation in North America (1996 R.O.C. News Media Yearbook). Original objectives of the newspaper included unifying all anti-Communist Chinese to recover the mainland and to carry out Father of the Republic Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People, the principles of nationalism, people's rights and people's livelihood. Most of its readers are from Taiwan.

Before Hong Kong was returned, or handed over, by Great Britain to China, the Control of Publications Consolidation Ordinance governed the press and listed offenses peculiar to the press. The ordinance gave the Registrar of Newspapers the administrative power to suspend or suppress newspapers. However, there was no censorship and the government generally tolerated press freedom (Chang, 1968). The Hong Kong press were linked closely to party organization goals and ideological stance (Chan & Lee, 1991) and ranged from supporting Taiwan and the Kuomintang to China and the Communist Party.

Sing Tao Daily, which was founded in 1938 and attained a circulation of some 500,000 in the 1980s as it catered to real estate and business circles (Li, 1994). Historically aligned with Taiwan, the newspaper supported British rule and "overestimated the role of China's economic dependence on Hong Kong while underestimating its political motive of using Hong Kong as a showcase for reunification with Taiwan (Chan & Lee, 1991, p. 87). Chan and Lee note, however, that the newspaper was eventually forced by the Joint Declaration to acquiesce to China's resumption of power in Hong Kong after 1997.

Sing Tao Daily published its first North American edition in San Francisco in 1964. It has since begun publishing in New York, Los Angeles, Vancouver and Toronto. Most of the North American readers are Cantonese from Hong Kong and China (Li, 1994).

The underlying assumption of this study is that because the three newspapers differ in their ownerships, ideologies, audiences, as well as the effect of the news event, the return of Hong Kong to China, the three newspapers will also significantly differ in their coverage of this event.

Based on this assumption as well as the prior research, five hypotheses are formulated for study. They are:

H1: The tone of all three newspapers will reflect a pro-government position in both pre-return and post-return news articles. The *China Press* will be mostly favorable in both time periods, the *World Journal* will be mostly unfavorable, and *Sing Tao Daily* will be in-between but more favorable in the post-return period.

H2: The three newspapers will differ from each other in both pre- and post-return coverage in their selection of writing structures.

H3: The three newspapers will differ from each other in both pre- and post-return coverage in their selection of content issues.

H4: The three newspapers will differ from each other in both pre- and post-return coverage in their selection of power issues.

H5: The three newspapers will differ from each other in both pre- and post-return coverage in their selection of evaluations.

Method

This content analysis of 160 issues of three ideologically different Chinese-language newspapers published in the United States produced 1,225 news articles to test five hypotheses regarding the tone and framing of the content, all of which focused on the return of Hong Kong to China in 1997. Hong Kong's return date, July 1, was the dividing point for the eight constructed weeks from January through December, half before and half after, which resulted in 701 news articles before the return, 246 from *China Press*, 192 from *Sing Tao Daily*, and 263 from the *World Journal*, and 554 after the return date, 171 from *China Press*, 154 from *Sing Tao Daily*, and 229 from the *World Journal*. Fifty-six issues were randomly selected from *Sing*

Tao Daily and the *World Journal*, each of which publish seven days a week, while the same Monday-through-Saturday random selection produced 48 issues of *China Press* which does not publish on Sundays.

Content Analysis was the technique used to quantitatively examine the manifest content (Stempel, 1998) of China's *China Press*, Hong Kong's *Sing Tao Daily*, and Taiwan's *World Journal*, while news framing analysis focused on the underling meaning and how events are portrayed (Tankard, 1991). Several major events, such as the establishing of the Preparatory Committee, the provisional legislature and the selection of the Executive Council, were expected to increase political uncertainty, particularly in terms of Hong Kong confidence in China's promise of some autonomy after it became part of China.

Essays, letters to the editors, advertisements and documents, such as the Sino-British Join Declaration and Hong Kong history were excluded from the analysis which coded news reports and editorials of this political issue in tone and four sets of news frames, writing formats, content issue, power and evaluations. Coding criteria for tone and the sub-categories of the news frames were:

Tone: Stories reflecting political cohesion, cooperation and stability were coded favorably. Examples included articles which depicted China, the Executive Council, the legislative body, political parties or any group or individuals, as progressive, successful, moral, intelligent, lawful, unified or exercising leadership. Coded unfavorable were accounts which reported political conflict, disorganization or instability, based on tensions and civil disruption and which views the previously mentioned groups as backward, negative, immoral, impractical, unlawful, disunited or lacking in leadership. Neutral accounts were those which lacked or were balanced in such viewpoints.

Framing has been defined at various times as "the principles of organization which govern events" (Goffman,1974, pp. 10-11), as "principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 6), and "a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue (Gamson, 1989, p. 157). After reviewing previous research on media framing, Tankard et al (1991) concluded that "a frame is a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration" (p.5).

News framing aids journalists because it functions as both an "internal structure of the mind" and a "schema on interpretation embedded in news content" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). This enables journalists to "process large amounts of information quickly and routinely: to recognize it as information, to assign it to cognitive categories, and to package it for efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin, I1980, p. 7). The news media tend to use story lines, symbols and stereotypes to develop news stories (Iyengar & Simon, 1993).

Gamson (1989) argues that a particular frame may favor the interests of a particular organization or source. For example, Entman (1991) studied news frames used by American media in their coverage of a Korean airliner shot down by a Soviet fighter in 1983 and an Iranian airliner shot down by a U.S. Navy ship in 1988. Entman concluded two separate frames were used. The former emphasized Soviet moral responsibility for the tragedy while the latter focused on a technical problem.

The evaluation of people, events and issues results in a value frame which serves as an encoding/decoding mechanism for constructing meaning (Ball-Rokeach, Power, Guthrie & Waring, 1990), These, they claim, are particularly useful in understanding matters of contested legitimacy, such abortion, or in the current study, control over Hong Kong. Framing is said to extend agenda setting by exploring how we think about an issue (Tankard, 1991) and bridges the manifest-latent distinction of news content (Gamson, 1989).

News framing was utilized in this study to examine how articles about the return of Hong Kong were (1) packaged by reporters in their writing formats, and included descriptive, routine, opinion and personalization: (2) classified as an underlying content issue concerning control, return, confidence, civil rights, the election, Taiwan, and diplomacy; (3) power, including China's dominance, Hong Kong autonomy, colonialism, reaction, people/parties, and any mixture; and (4) Evaluation, including approval, jubilation, concern, conflict, criticism, admonishment and a factual category.

Writing Format Frame: The descriptive subframe focused on describing events such as coverage of conflict, preparations and celebrations. Routine stories were those on procedures and meetings of normal, scheduled events. Articles which discussed or expressed specific personal or political points on issues were labeled the opinion, while accounts which referred to the lives, characteristics, thoughts and beliefs of individuals, such as Tung Chee-hwa and Chris Patten were classified as personalization.

Content Issues: The control category included articles on the transition of the executive council from Chris Patten to Tung Chee-hwa, the legitimacy of the legislative council, continuity of civil services, appointment and resignation of officials and statements from China asserting sovereignty over Hong Kong, meetings of the Preparatory Committee and entry of the Chinese Liberation Army.

Accounts of celebrations, ceremonies or activities concerning the return were classified as the return. Confidence included coverage of people's confidence in, or about, Hong Kong's future, Chief Executive Tung Chee-hwa, as well as political or governmental policies regarding Hong Kong's future. Civil rights were those articles on demonstrations and human rights, amendments to civil liberty ordinances, and the publication of consultation documents on civil liberties and social order. Election focused on the enactment of the election law for the post-return legislature to replace the provisional legislature, election of Hong Kong delegates to the Chinese National People's Congress, criticism from pro-democracy campaigners. Articles focusing on Taiwan's reaction to the return, talks between Taiwan and Hong Kong and the attitude of Tung Chee-hwa towards the Taiwan question were classified as the Taiwan frame. Coverage of political party activities, delegate visits to other countries and Tung's visits to other countries were coded as Diplomacy.

Power Frame. The people/party category focused on positions, attitudes, opinions, arguments, concerns, apprehensions or expectations of both political and civic, academic or professional organizations. Autonomy included any political event referring to a more democratic or autonomous atmosphere in Hong Kong. China dominance referred to China's interference in Hong Kong's internal affairs, Tung's subordination to China and reference to Deng Xiaoping's "one country, two systems" principle. Articles presenting Taiwanese responses, reactions, or attitudes and any statement or opinion from countries other than Great Britain were coded as Taiwan/World reaction. Articles focusing on the end of the British government in Hong Kong or the passing of the colonial era were classified as the Colonial frame. A mixed frame included articles which utilized more than one frame while the Other frame focused on other aspects.

Evaluation: The approval category focused on consensus about leaders and policies, mutual benefit and cooperation, while jubilation reflected joy such as wiping out China's shame since the 1840s, recovery of Hong Kong and an historic victory. Concern depicted apprehension or uncertainty in policies, issues, claims or statements about the future. China's disapproval centered on China or Tung's disapproval of Hong Kong activities, reprimands, resistance and boycotts. Constructive criticism referred to suggestions that building a prosperous Hong Kong is more important than disputing issues. Admonishment included mild disapproval, tactful warnings to China or to Hong Kong concerning the negative consequences of actions. Factual referred to articles which were objective in nature.

Ten percent of all articles, 126 of the 1,255, were randomly selected for recoding by a second coder to ensure accuracy of the coding process and news framing. The Scott (1955) intercoder reliabilities were: tone: 83%; writing frame, 86%; content issue frame, 85%; evaluation, 81%; and power, 84%.

Results

All five hypotheses were supported, if not completely at least in part, as chi square analysis of the relationships indicated significant differences among the newspapers.

As hypothesized, all three newspapers did reflect tones suggestive of their respective governments' views of the return, China in favor, Taiwan not in favor, and Hong Kong in between. As Table 1 indicates, there were significant differences in the newspapers' tones in both pre-return and post-return coverage, respectively, $X^2(4, N=701) = 111.66$, $p < .001$ and $X^2(4, N=554) = 117.97$, $p < .001$. The *China Press* exhibited the most favorable coverage in both periods, 62% and 70% respectively, more than two- and one-half the amount of favorable comment in the pre-return coverage of either *Sing Tao Daily* or the *World Journal.*

And while both *Sing Tao Daily* and *World Journal* pre-return coverage were similar in tone, the *World Journal* became more unfavorable after the return than before. The increase in unfavorability from 37% to 47%, was significant with $X^2(2, N=492) = 6.73$ at the .05 level of probability. *Sing Tao Daily* did become more favorable in its post-return coverage, 34% compared to 23%, but it was not statistically significant. Interestingly, *Sing Tao's* increase in favorability did not reflect a decrease in unfavorabilitiy, but rather a decrease in neutrality.

Although Hypothesis Two was supported in both pre-return and post-return differences in writing patterns, only the *China Press* significantly changed patterns after the return. As Table 2 indicates, all three newspapers primarily used a routine events pattern although *Sing Tao* used it significantly more often in the pre-return period, 69% of the time compared with 45% for both the *China Press* and the *World Journal*. The chi square value is $X^2(8, N = 701) = 59.85$, $p < .001$. Other differences in pre-return writing patterns included the *World Journal* using the opinion pattern 24% of the time, nearly twice that of the other newspapers, while the *China Press* used the descriptive pattern 27% of the time, again more than twice the usage of the other newspapers.

The writing patterns of the three newspapers continued to differ significantly in the post-return period, as Table 2 indicates, but only the *China Press* significantly changed patterns after the return. The newspaper increased its use of the descriptive format, primarily at the expense of personalization and other subframes. The chi square value is $X^2(4, N=417) = 9.52$, $p < .05$.

Hypothesis Three, which suggested the newspapers would focus on different content issues was also generally supported in both pre- and post-return periods, $X^2(14, N=701) = 75.52$, $p < .001$ and $X^2(14, N=554) = 117.29$, $p < .001$. The *China Press* paid more attention to issues of control and the return but less to civil rights than the other two newspapers. All three newspapers paid more attention to control issues, between one-third and 40%, in both time periods than to any other issues (see Table 3) but they all paid about the same amount of attention in the pre-return period. However, in the post-return return, the *China Press* increased its coverage to control from 31% to 40% while the others remained about the same. But the *China Press* did pay considerably more attention to the return, 31% and 35%, respectively, while the other newspapers paid much less attention. Instead, as

Table 3 indicates, the *Sing Tao Daily* and the *World Journal* focused on civil rights, 22% and 15%, respectively, in the pre-return period and then reduced it slightly in the post-return period.

In addition, Table 3 also indicates that all three newspapers significantly changed in their post-return coverage of issues. Essentially, the *China Press*, as mentioned, increased its attention significantly, $X^2(7, N=417) = 34.21$, $p < .001$, to control issues in the post-return period, primarily by reducing the attention paid to issues of Hong Kong's confidence in the future and to civil rights.

Meanwhile, both *Sing Tao Daily* and the *World Journal* focused more attention in the post-return period on the impact on Taiwan as well as on the election controversies. Indeed, the *World Journal's* focus on the return's impact on Taiwan rose from fifth of seven categories, and only 7% in the pre-return period to 21% and second only to control issues in the post-return period. The significance was $X^2(7, N=492) = 47.43$, $p < .001$. At the same time, *Sing Tao* coverage shifted from only 4% on Taiwan in the pre-return period to 14% in the post-return, as well as focusing on election stories. The significance was $X^2(79, N=346) = 50.56$, $p < .001$.

As hypothesized in Hypothesis Four, the three newspapers did differ significantly in their use of power frames. The *China Press* did pay more attention to such power questions as Hong Kong's autonomy and China's dominance than did *Sing Tao* although the *World Journal* paid about the same amount of attention to China dominance. In addition, the *China Press* also paid a surprising amount of attention to the comments and opinions of various politicians and groups or associations in Hong Kong politicians than did the other newspapers in the pre-return period. The significance level for the differing power positions of the three newspapers was $X^2(12, N=701) = 54.82, p < .001$ for the pre-return period and it was $X^2(12, N=554) = 22.16, p\ .05$.

Table 4 also indicates that the *China Press* did not change significantly in its coverage but that the *Sing Tao Daily* and the *World Journal* did, $X^2(6, N=346) = 29.87, p < .001$ and $X^2(6, N=492) = 20.63, p < .01$, respectively. *Sing Tao Daily* coverage of the end of colonialism dropped from 16% to %1 while questions of autonomy and political and group opinions increased from 19% and 17% respectively in the pre-return period to 27% and 27% each in the post-return period. Meanwhile, the *World Journal* nearly doubled its attention to world reaction, from 8% to 15%.

The fifth hypothesis, that the newspapers would differ in their evaluations was also supported. The *China Press* focused more on approval and jubilation and less on criticism and concern than the other two newspapers. The chi square values are $X^2(14, N=701) = 100.54, p < .001$ for pre-return coverage and $X^2(14, N=554) = 98.22, p < .02$ for post-return coverage.

Although approximately 30% of the pre-return coverage of all three newspapers tended to be factual rather than evaluative and less in the post-return period, the three newspapers did express different views in both time periods. In the pre-return period, the *Sing Tao Daily* and the *World Journal* did focus on concern over Hong Kong's future, 18% and 12%, respectively, and 12% and 13%, respectively, on China disapproval of Hong Kong while ignoring Jubilation, which was the focus of 20% of the *China Press* coverage. Interestingly, *Sing Tao* increased its approval coverage in the post-return, to 23% from 15%, and, while reducing issues of concern from 18% to 12%, increased its admonishment coverage (China to Hong Kong or Hong Kong to China) from 9% to 13%.

The *Sing Tao* shifts, however, were not statistically significant, whereas changes in *China Press* and *World Journal* evaluations were. As Table 5 indicates, the *China Press* nearly quadrupled its coverage of disapproval of Hong Kong, from 5% to 19% primarily by reducing its factual coverage from 30% to 21%. This was significant at $X^2(7, N=417) = 25.76$, $p < .001$. The *World Journal* increased coverage in admonishment, China's disapproval and concern over Hong Kong's future. This was significant at $X^2(7, N=492) = 17.31$, $p < .02$.

Discussion

This content analysis of t he 1997 coverage of the return of Hong Kong to China by three Chinese-language newspapers in North America focused on the tone and underlying frames implicit in the divergent perspectives of China's *China Press*, *Sing Tao Daily* of Hong Kong, and Taiwan's *World Journal.* The hypothesized relationships, that tone and content focus and evaluation were a function of the newspapers following pro-government stances, were generally supported. The *China Press* serves as China's propaganda channel while the *World Journal* supports the Kuomingtang and *Sing Tao* is more middle-of-the-road.

These findings support, and extend the work of three prior studies. Chan (1994) found that the *People's Daily* coverage did follow a pro-government view but that the *London Times* and the *New York Times* did not. However, Gamson (1989) argued that a particular frame may favor the interests of a particular organization or source. This was found by Entman 's(1991) finding that American media framed the U.S. downing of an Iranian aircraft as a technical problem but a Soviet fighter's destruction of a Korean airliner was framed as moral responsibility. Similarly, this study found that the three newspapers selected frames more compatible with their government's, and their, respective positions.

These studies suggest that on issues of extreme interest to the government, the people, and also to the newspaper's ownership, a publication is quite likely to reflect a position similar to the government in terms of its favorable and unfavorable coverage.

It appears likely then, a newspaper's traditional objectivity may be also attributable to its lack of involvement as it is to professional standards and, thus, when an event of extremely significant import to the newspaper's future, as well as that of its country, subjectivity may become the frame for coverage rather than the exception.

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TABLE 1

Tone of Articles About the Return of Hong Kong to China, Before and After Its Return, in Three Chinese Newspapers Published in the United States -- China's *China Press*, Hong Kong's *Sing Tao Daily* and Taiwan's *World Journal*

% of Tone Before Return

	China Press (n = 246)	*Sing Tao Daily* (n = 192)	*World Journal** (n = 263)
Favorable	62%	23%	24%
Unfavorable	11	35	37
Neutral	27	42	39

X^2 (4, N=701) = 111.66, $p < .001$

% of Tone After Return

	China Press (n = 171)	*Sing Tao Daily* (n = 154)	*World Journal* (n = 229)
Favorable	70%	34%	23%
Unfavorable	5	32	47
Neutral	25	34	30

X^2(4, N=554) = 117.97, $p < .001$

* The *World Journal* became significantly [X^2(2,N=492) = 6.73, $p < .05$] less neutral and more unfavorable after return. There was a tendency for the *China Press* to become less unfavorable and more favorable and for *Sing Tao Daily* to become less neutral and more favorable

TABLE 2

Reporter Writing Patterns of Articles About the Return of Hong Kong to China, Before and After Its Return, in Three Chinese Newspapers Published in the United States – China's *China Press*, Hong Kong's *Sing Tao Daily* and Taiwan's *World Journal*

% Before Return

Writing Patterns	*China Press** (n = 246)	*Sing Tao Daily* (n = 192)	*World Journal* (n = 263)
Routine Events	45%	69%	45%
Opinions	15	12	24
Descriptive	27	11	12
Personalization	7	3	3
Other	6	5	16

$X^2(8, N = 701) = 59.85, p < .001$

% After Return

Writing Patterns	*China Press* (n = 171)	*Sing Tao Daily* (n = 154)	*World Journal* (n = 229)
Routine Events	47%	63%	51%
Opinions	15	12	18
Descriptive	33	11	14
Personalization	2	3	6
Other	3	11	11

$X^2(8, N = 554) = 60.91, p < .001$

* China Press pre- and post-return news types differed significantly, X2(4, N= 417) = 9.515, $p < .05$.

TABLE 3

Content Issue Frames in Articles About the Return of Hong Kong to China, Before and After Its Return, in Three Chinese Newspapers Published in the United States -- China's *China Press*, Hong Kong's *Sing Tao Daily* and Taiwan's *World Journal*

% Before Return

Content Issue	*China Press** (n = 246)	*Sing Tao Daily** (n = 192)	*World Journal** (n = 263)
Control	31%	33%	27%
The Return	31	7	14
HK Confidence	11	10	11
Civil Rights	10	22	15
The Election	4	6	6
Taiwan	2	4	7
Politics	1	2	6
Others	10	16	14

$X^2(14, N = 701) = 75.517$, $p < .001$

% After Return

Content Issue	*China Press* (n = 171)	*Sing Tao Daily* (n = 154)	*World Journal* (n = 229)
Control	40%	30%	31%
The Return	35	5	6
HK Confidence	5	11	7
Civil Rights	2	12	11
The Election	6	21	14
Taiwan	5	14	21
Politics	5	5	4
Others	2	2	6

$X^2(14, N = 554) = 117.29$, $p < .001$

* The percentage of issue frames changed significantly after the return in all three newspapers. The chi square values are: *China Press* $X^2(7, N = 417) = 34.21$, $p < .001$; *Sing Tao Daily* $X^2(7, N = 346) = 50.56$, $p < .001$: and *World Journal* $X^2(7, N = 492) = 47.43$, $p < .001$.

TABLE 4

Power Frames in Articles About the Return of Hong Kong to China, Before and After Its Return, in Three Chinese Newspapers Published in the United States -- China's *China Press*, Hong Kong's *Sing Tao Daily* and Taiwan's *World Journal*

% Before Return

Power	*China Press* (n = 246)	*Sing Tao Daily** (n = 192)	*World Journal** (n = 263)
People/Parties	29%	17%	16%
HK Autonomy	26	19	14
China Dominance	20	13	19
Mixed Frame	9	20	23
Taiwan/World	6	12	8
End of Colonialism	5	16	7
Others	11	7	13

$X^2(12, N = 701) = 54.82, p < .001$

% After Return

Power	*China Press* (n = 246)	*Sing Tao Daily* (n = 192)	*World Journal* (n = 263)
People/Parties	26%	27%	20%
HK Autonomy	25	27	19
China Dominance	17	10	19
Mixed Frame	12	16	13
Taiwan/World	5	11	15
End of Colonialism	3	1	2
Others	12	8	12

$X^2(12, N = 554) = 22.16, p < .05$

* Both *Sing Tao Daily* and the *World Journal* power frames changed significantly after the return. The chi squares are: *Sing Tao Daily* $X^2(6, N = 346) = 29.87, p < .001$; and *World Journal* $X^2(6, N = 492) = 20.63, p < .01$

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TABLE 5

Evaluation Frames in Articles About the Return of Hong Kong to China, Before and After Its Return, in Three Chinese Newspapers Published in the United States – China's *China Press*, Hong Kong's *Sing Tao Daily* and Taiwan's *World Journal*

% Before Return

Evaluation	*China Press** (n = 246)	*Sing Tao Daily* (n = 192)	*World Journal** (n = 263)
Factual	30%	31%	26%
Approval	30	15	14
Jubilation	20	4	7
Concern	5	18	15
Conflict	5	12	13
Criticism	5	6	5
Admonishment	4	9	10
Other	1	5	10

$X^2(14, N = 701) - 100.54, p < .001$

% After Return

Evaluation	*China Press* (n = 229)	*Sing Tao* (n = 154)	*World Journal* (n = 229)
Factual	21%	28%	22%
Approval	26	23	14
Jubilation	21	3	3
Concern	8	12	21
Conflict	19	12	19
Criticism	3	4	4
Admonishment	1	13	14
Other	1	5	3

$X^2(14, N = 554) = 98.22, p < .001$

* Judgment frames in the *China Press* and the *World Journal* changed significantly after the return. The chi squares are: *China Press* $X^2(7, N = 417) = 25.76, p < .001$; *World Journal* $X^2(7, N = 492) = 17.31, p < .02$.

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"This Game is Brought to You Commercial-Free:" A Comparative Analysis of World Cup Soccer Television Coverage in Germany and the U.S.

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Abstract:

The role of television, particularly advertiser-supported, commercial television, in the transformation of professional sports has been widely documented and discussed by critical and cultural theorists, political economists, and sport sociologists in many parts of the world. This study attempts to contribute to this literature by analyzing "commercial elements" (advertising and sponsoring) in the television coverage of the 1998 Soccer World Cup in Germany and the United States. Hence, it compares coverage by non-commercial, public service broadcasters (ARD and ZDF in Germany) with commercial, i.e. profit-seeking, enterprises (Disney's ABC and ESPN in the U.S.). The results of a content analysis clearly show that the coverage by ABC and ESPN in the U.S. is far more commercialized than the coverage by their German counterparts. It follows from a discussion of the political economy of sports broadcasting that the increasing costs for soccer broadcasting rights will force European broadcasters in the future to more aggressively "exploit" airtime for commercial use, thereby more closely resembling the commercially saturated U.S. coverage.

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"This Game is Brought to You Commercial-Free:" A Comparative Analysis of World Cup Soccer Television Coverage in Germany and the U.S.

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On July 12, 1998, approximately 2 billion viewers around the world gathered around the television set to watch the final game of the 1998 Soccer World Cup between Brazil and France.[1] It is estimated that the entire tournament (64 games) was watched by a cumulative total of 37 billion viewers around the world.[2] Clearly, the World Cup has become a global media spectacle, comparable only to the Olympic Games and - for the U.S. - the Super Bowl. Attributes of a global television event are the size of the viewing audience and the ability of the broadcast to disrupt the routines of daily life.[3] The broadcasting rights for these events have become a hot commodity, reflecting not only the events' immense popularity but also the broadcasters' desire to reap the economic benefits attached to airing this exclusive event.

While the World Cup traditionally has been the premier sport event in all of Europe, South America, and Africa (in fact, in most of the world), it now seems that soccer and its main event, the World Cup, is gaining in popularity in the United States as well. And with the resurgence of American soccer,[4] the television coverage of the World Cup in the U.S. is steadily improving, in quality and quantity. For the very first time all 64 games of the World Cup tournament were broadcast live in the United States. ABC, ESPN, and ESPN2 (all owned by Disney) divided up the load, with ABC televising 14 matches, ESPN 27, and ESPN2 the remaining 23.[5]

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[1] "Endspielrekord fuer das franzoesische Fernsehen." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 14, 1998, p. 33.

[2] "Informationstechnik der Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, June 9, 1998, section "Technik und Motor," p. 1.

[3] de Moragas Spa, M., Rivenburgh, N.K., & Larson, J.F. *Television in the Olympics*. (London: John Libbey, 1995), p. 209. The authors also point out the difficulties in accurately measuring worldwide television audiences which is why audience figures for events like the Olympics or the World Cup have to be treated carefully, esp. when reported by the same media broadcasting the event.

A combination of both quantitative and qualitative approaches, this study embeds a content analysis of World Cup television coverage in the U.S. and Germany in a broader discussion of the political economy of sports broadcasting in Europe at the turn of the 21st century. Specifically, it analyzes the "commercial elements" that surround the broadcasts from the 1998 Soccer World Cup, comparing television coverage by Disney's ABC/ESPN in the United States with ARD/ZDF in Germany. In doing so, the analysis may bring to light not only cross-cultural/cross-national differences but it also compares coverage by a commercial, i.e. profit-seeking, enterprise (Disney) with two non-commercial, public service broadcasters (ARD and ZDF).[6] By closely examining the U.S. coverage (and contrasting it to the German broadcasts), this study offers the potential to look into the future direction of European (public service) sports broadcasting. Why? The ability of a broadcaster to give airtime to sponsors or to engage in self-promotion has been a long standing practice in the U.S. but it is gaining importance in other parts of the world, particularly Europe, at dramatic speed. Recently, the German-based Kirch-group and the Swiss-based ISL/Sporis AG have bought the *worldwide* rights for the 2002 and 2006 World Cup from FIFA, the event organizer and rights holder. This means that international broadcasters will have to pay significantly more for the right to broadcast World Cup games than they have in the past. As a result, these broadcasters will, in all likelihood, have to increase their revenues by selling airtime to advertisers and/or sponsors. In a more general sense, this study represents an attempt to contribute to the growing body of literature on the media-sport relationship.

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[4] After a long hiatus between 1950 - 1990, the U.S. soccer team managed to qualify for the World Cup in 1990 and 1998, and was the host country with an automatic bid in 1994. The World Cup tournament is held every four years. Nationally, a professional soccer league (Major League Soccer, MLS) was started following the boost of the 1994 World in the U.S.

[5] Sandomir, R. "Disney Making a Commitment to Complete Soccer Coverage." *New York Times*, June 7, 1998, p. (8)14.

[6] The label "non-commercial" for public service broadcasters might imply that these stations are commercial-free. This is obviously not the case as public service broadcasters do show a limited and

The growing academic interest in the media-sport relationship is largely fueled by the emergence of cultural studies in the U.S. in the 1980's and a new willingness to put *popular* communication cultures, like sport, on the agenda.[7] At the end of the 20th century, it is very difficult not to be exposed to some form of mediated sport coverage, whether you are a sports fan or not. Professional sport has turned into a multi-billion dollar entertainment industry, closely intertwined with the media. Sport generates huge audiences, both live at the event and as consumers/recipients of mediated sport products. Nationally and internationally, the "cultural footprint of sport has grown significantly."[8] The media-sport relationship can be broken down into four main foci of analysis:

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regulated amount of commercials. However, the primary objective of public service broadcasting is NOT to make a profit which distinguishes it from the "commercial" competition.

[7] Wenner, L.A. "Playing the MediaSport Game." In L.A. Wenner (ed.) *MediaSport* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 7.

[8] Wenner, *MediaSport*, p. 3.

audiences, economics/institutions, production, and texts. The "communication of sport" has, therefore, a natural lineage to other areas of communication inquiry.[9]

In a television landscape fragmented by cable and satellite, sport is arguably the most important aspect of television programming. Bellamy (1998) argues that

> with a seemingly endless proliferation of television channels, sport is seen as the programming that can best break trough the clutter of channels and advertising and consistently produce a desirable audience for sale to advertisers. In economic terms, the telecasting of sports provides a television entity with a level of product differentiation that distinguishes it from its rivals. This often takes the form of 'branding' - whereby sports coverage becomes identified with a specific television provider, such as the "NBA on NBC" or ABC's "Monday Night Football."[10]

According to a television executive, "sport is the last frontier of reality on television [...] about the only thing that can guarantee an audience" because of its ability to offer viewers around the globe "a shared communication experience."[11]

The "co-evolutionary relationship"[12] between the institutions of sport and television has been analyzed from a critical and institutional perspective. While the assessments differ and the nature of the relationship has been either described as "parasitic"[13] or "symbiotic,"[14] there is consensus that in the marriage (or, "conquest"[15]) between these two institutions advertising is the knot that ties them together. Many critics complain about the commodification of sports and put the blame on television. They argue that advertiser-supported, commercial television has changed and "transformed" professional sport. This viewpoint, however, ignores the active role professional sport organizations in many cases have played in this transformation. Sport franchises have become so dependent on media revenues (and airtime, i.e. exposure) for their functioning that they willingly change the rules of the game to accommodate for advertisers' needs.[16]

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[9] Wenner, L.A. "Media, Sports, and Society: The Research Agenda." In L.A. Wenner (ed.) *Media, Sports, & Society* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), p. 16.

[10] Bellamy, R.V. Jr. "The Evolving Television Sports Marketplace." In L.A. Wenner (ed.) *MediaSport* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 73.

[11] Fox Sports' President David Hill, cited in Lafayette, J. "Twelve to watch in 1996: Fox Sports' David Hill." *Electronic Media*, January 22, 1996, pp. 126, 145.

[12] O'Heffernan, P. *Mass Media and American Foreign Policy*. (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1991)

[13] Rader, B.G. *In Its Own Image: How Television Has Transformed Sports*. (New York: The Free Press, 1984)

[14] See, for example, Parente, D.E. "The Interdependence of Sports and Television." *Journal of Communication*, Vol. 27, No. 3, 1977, pp. 128-159; and Whannel, G. *Fields in Vision: Television sport and cultural transformation*. (London: Routledge, 1992)

In order to fit the formula of commercial television a sport has to either naturally have many interruptions or has to change its rules over time to allow for commercial breaks. Major League Baseball is a good example for the former, NBA basketball for the latter. The nature of the game of baseball (9 innings resulting in 18 changes of offense and defense) lends itself to commercial breaks; there is obviously no need to change the rules much.[17] In basketball, however, there is no need to grant each team six timeouts per half, much less the so-called "TV-timeouts." There is also no *need* to play four quarters instead of two halves. The same can be said about American football in the NFL where there is no *need* to grant each team three timeouts per half, much less the "2-minute-

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[15] Harris, R.J. "Sports and Media: Marriage or Conquest?" in *A cognitive psychology of mass communication* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994), pp. 115-137.

[16] See, for example, Altheide, D., & Snow, R. "Sports versus the mass media." *Urban Life*, 7(2), 1978; Jhally, S. "Cultural studies and the Sports/Media Complex." In L.A. Wenner (ed.) *Media, Sports, & Society* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), p. 80; Parente (1977); Rader (1984)

[17] In fact, some television executives criticize baseball for being too slow. This is another example of a sport not "fitting the formula," in this case fast-paced action.

warning."[18] Clearly, a sport has to either naturally fit the formula or it has to change if it hopes to get/stay on the air.

The continuous flow of soccer[19] creates a problem for commercial television. In the past, U.S. broadcasters have (ultimately unsuccessfully) tried to adapt soccer to the demands of American commercial television.[20] Soccer's natural flow is not a problem, however, for non-commercial, public service broadcasters who traditionally do not rely on revenues from advertising (as much) and, therefore, can afford to show 45+ minutes of uninterrupted soccer.[21] With the emergence of more commercial television stations, particularly in Europe, this scenario is changing dramatically. The commercial stations, in an attempt to establish themselves in their local/national media markets, sought what they knew would work best to attract audiences appealing to advertisers: broadcasting rights for popular sport events. Sports programming is different from most other entertainment programming on television in that it involves both *rights costs* and *production costs*. Non-sports programming usually does not involve *rights costs*. It comes either complete for a license fee (from a production company or studio) or is produced by the broadcaster itself (e.g., news).[22] Therefore, the revenue generated by selling airtime to advertisers during sports programming has to be compared to the *total of rights and production costs* associated with the broadcast. Beyond the revenue from advertisers, there are other indirect benefits from showing high-profile sport events. These major events allow the station to promote other, non-sport programming during the broadcast, thereby potentially increasing the ratings for the promoted time slot, which then in turn brings in more advertising revenue for the station/network. Secondly, there is the before mentioned benefit of "branding," the association with a high-profile sport event which increases the overall image of the station/network.

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[18] The NFL instituted an "official" timeout two minutes before the end of the game. This stops the game and allows for commercials to be shown at a time when the game is about to be decided and fans' interest is, therefore, very high.

[19] Soccer is played in two halves of 45 minutes, without any "institutionalized interruptions" like timeouts. Injury time or substitutions are about the only "delays" in the game.

[20] See, for example, Michener, J. A. *Sports in America*. (New York: Random House, 1976), p. 304-5; and Real, M.R. "Super Bowl Football Versus World Cup Soccer: A Cultural Structural Comparison." In L.A. Wenner (ed.) *Media, Sports, & Society*. (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), pp. 180-203.

[21] Soccer is somewhat Euro-centric. The two most powerful governing bodies of soccer, FIFA and UEFA, are located in Europe, where until recently non-commercial broadcasting was the dominant media form. I would suggest that this is the most important reason why it has not yet been seriously contemplated to change soccer rules to "fit the formula" for commercial television and allow for more advertising. Real (1989, p. 190) points in the same direction.

Before turning to the analysis of the 1998 Soccer World Cup coverage on German and U.S. television, let us compare the financial investment the broadcasters made to be able to show the games to their audiences.

Broadcast rights

Disney paid $22 million to obtain the exclusive rights for ABC, ESPN, and ESPN2. This is not a particularly high amount when compared to the $456 million NBC had to pay for the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta.[23] It is also a clear indication of the "infant" or "development" stage of soccer in the United States.

The two German public service broadcasters ARD and ZDF - which broadcast the games on an alternating basis every other day - had to pay about $6.4 million for the rights to the World Cup.[24] In the past, European broadcasters did not bid individually for the rights for major sport events like the World Cup or the Olympics. Instead, the European Broadcasting Union (EBU), a consortium of European public broadcasting stations, bought the rights for the European market and then distributed it to its member stations. These stations have traditionally broadcast those events unencrypted and free-of-charge as part of their public service mission. In 1988, the EBU had to pay FIFA, the rights holder, about $92 million for the rights to the 1998 World Cup.[25] Both what the EBU had to pay as well the German share paid by ARD and ZDF are amazing bargain prices by today's market standards, especially considering soccer's immense popularity all over Europe. How can this be explained? When FIFA sold the rights in 1988 (ten years before the 1998 World Cup), they completely misjudged the potential market developments for soccer rights.[26] By today's market value, any German television network acquiring World Cup rights for the German market alone would have to pay far more than what the EBU paid ten years ago for the entire Europe.[27]

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[22] Eastman, S.T. and Meyer, T.P. "Sports Programming: Scheduling, Costs, and Competition." In L.A. Wenner (ed.) *Media, Sports, & Society* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1989), p. 102.

[23] Real, M.R. "MediaSport: Technology and the Commodification of Postmodern Sport." In L.A. Wenner (ed.) *MediaSport* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 19.

Production

French television, the "host broadcaster" for the 1998 World Cup, was obligated to provide adequate footage, the so-called "world feed" or "international signal," to the broadcasters from around the world. This is common practice for major sport events like the World Cup or the Olympics.[28] French television used 17 cameras to show the games from all angles, and broadcasters were free to augment this basic coverage with cameras and equipment of their own. Both the American as well as the German stations used up to five extra cameras to supplement the world feed.[29] This allows the producer to focus on specific aspects of the game (e.g., players, coaches, the crowd, etc.) that may be of interest to the national audience. This is usually coordinated between the producer and the reporter so that the reporter can provide in-depth information about, say, a particular player while at the same time a camera zooms in on the player and follows him on or off the field. While it is expensive to rent additional equipment like cameras, it also decreases the dependence on whatever footage the host broadcaster's world feed provides and it allows for coverage much more sensitive to national interests. In order to provide excellent all-around coverage, ARD and ZDF sent a team of 416 employees (of which 124 are journalists).[30] Obviously, all have to be paid, accommodated, etc., creating a substantial operating budget. This shows that the *total costs*, including production costs, for such a big event go far beyond the mere costs for acquisition of the broadcast rights (see Table 1).

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[24] DM 11.6 million German Mark, exchange rate at 1.8 DM to the Dollar, 4 March 1999

[25] CHF 135 million Swiss Francs, exchange rate at 1.46 CHF to the Dollar, 4 March 1999

[26] "64 Spiele fuer einen Spottpreis." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, June 10, 1998, no page (Lexis-Nexis)

[27] Zorn, R. "Im Hickhack um einen Milliarden-Vertrag sind auch verschluesselte Schluesselspiele nicht ausgeschlossen." *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, July 15, 1998, p. 32.

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[28] de Moragas Spa, M., Rivenburgh, N.K., & Larson, J.F. *Television in the Olympics.* (London: John Libbey, 1995)

[29] Martzke, R. "ABC's Cup coverage has little kick." *USA Today*, July 13, 1998, p. 2C; and Fassbender, H. "An der Grenze des Ertraeglichen." *Suedeutsche Zeitung*, June10, 1998, no page (Lexis-Nexis). This is the same H. Fassbender who announced the World Cup final for the ARD which is part of this analysis.

[30] No such numbers could be found for the ABC/ESPN/ESPN2 team.

Table 1: Factors contributing to the total costs for the broadcasters in the 1998 World Cup by broadcaster/country

	Disney - ABC, ESPN, ESPN2	**ARD + ZDF**
Country	United States	Germany
Population (in million)	267	82
Rights costs (in million USD)	22	6.4
Number of live games	64	64
Max. number of extra cameras	5	5
Telecast sponsors	Budweiser, Nike, Canon, Army, FedEx, Honda, MasterCard, National Car Rental	Bitburger (beer)

No matter what the primary objective of the broadcaster is ("profit" for a company like Disney, or "public service" for networks like ARD and ZDF), both need to operate in a financially sound way and have to make sure that they receive a return on their investment. Granted, the definition of "return on investment" will differ between the two networks/companies that are subject of this analysis but both clearly operate in a system that cannot afford a sub-par performance resulting in financial losses. The return on investment can be looked at as the net result of revenues minus costs.

Above, an attempt was made to approximate the *costs* associated with the World Cup 1998 for both Disney and ARD/ZDF. Before proceeding with the analysis of how both Disney and ARD/ZDF tried to earn *revenues* with their broadcasts (i.e. the selling of commercial airtime[31]), another aspect lending added significance to this study needs to be introduced.

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[31] To keep the argument simple, I will ignore the funding through license fees for public service broadcasters like ARD and ZDF. While the "external" and "non-market-based" funding through license fees is clearly an important element of public service broadcasting, it can be ignored in the context of this particular section of the analysis. This issue will, however, resurface in the discussion of my findings and of the implications for the future.

In 1996, the German-based Kirch-group and its Swiss partner ISL/Sporis AG bought the *worldwide* broadcasting rights (except USA) for the Soccer World Cup 2002 and 2006 from FIFA, the governing body of world soccer, for $1.9 billion.[32]/[33] This acquisition marks the first time a private, commercial company has bought the rights for the World Cup. The impact of this acquisition by Kirch and ISL/Sporis will be felt all over the world (except in the U.S.).[34] Nationally in Germany, the Kirch-group is linked to some commercial German television stations (SAT1, the sport channel DSF, and the pay-TV channel Premiere) that may benefit from this deal because they now have the inside track to preferential treatment.[35] In this new scenario, the public service networks ARD and ZDF will have to buy the rights directly from the competition, the Kirch-group, assuming they are capable and willing to pay the price for it. At this point it is unclear how ARD/ZDF and other European public service broadcasters will react. The main reason is that this deal has created a situation that is characterized by a high amount of legal uncertainty, on both the European and the national level.[36] Internationally, the price

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[32] DM 3.4 billion German Mark, exchange rate at 1.8 DM to the Dollar, 4 March 1999

[33] The contract between Kirch/ISL/Sporis and FIFA stipulates that profits made from re-selling the rights to other broadcasters have to be split between the parties, according to "Der Preis des Fussballs." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, December 19, 1998, no page (Lexis-Nexis)

[34] I was unable to determine why the U.S was left out of this deal. I can only imagine that FIFA felt that the U.S. market needed to be "protected" since it is *the* up and coming "developing" soccer market of the world. FIFA, therefore, may want to make sure that the broadcasting rights are "affordable" and the World Cup tournament will be "guaranteed" to find its way on the television screens in the United States.

[35] Esslinger, D. "Deutsche Spiele live fuer alle." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, July 11, 1998, no page (Lexis-Nexis)

[36] The European Union has enacted legislation, as part of the "Television without frontiers" Directive, that "protects" events of "major cultural significance" and allows EU member states to come up with "lists" of events that have to be broadcast live and free-of-charge. This allows, for example, Britain to "protect" the Wimbledon tennis tournament, France to "protect" the Tour de France, and certainly most, if not all, EU member states to "protect" major soccer games and events, like the World Cup. This, however, is challenged by the Kirch-group in front of the European court because it clearly hinders the right holder (Kirch) to exploit the right and sell it to the highest bidder for use on pay-TV or pay-per-view television.

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for the rights is already going up *considerably*. In 1998, ISL/Sporis sold the rights for the 2002 and 2006 World Cup for the Brazilian market to the Brazilian network Rede Globo for $500 million.[37] When this amount is compared to the $6.4 million ARD/ZDF had to pay for the 1998 World Cup for Germany, the largest media market in Europe and one of the largest in the world, the trend is clear. The price for World Cup Soccer rights will go up sharply. This will increase the pressure on broadcasters to sell more airtime to advertisers and/or sponsors to make up for the increase in costs.

These recent developments make an analysis of the amount of advertising and sponsoring during soccer broadcasts even more important. In contrasting the profit-oriented Disney enterprise (ABC/ESPN) with Germany's public service providers ARD/ZDF, the analysis may show how World Cup soccer coverage can be commercially "exploited" and it may show what lies ahead for public service networks and the viewing audience around Europe and the world.

Method

A content analysis represents the quantitative part of this study. It seeks to determine the amount and the nature of the "commercial text" (advertising and sponsoring) that surrounds the television coverage of the World Cup on Disney-owned ABC and ESPN[38] and Germany's public service networks ARD and ZDF.[39] The content

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The court will have to decide how to balance the "right of the public to access to information" with other fundamental principles such as contractual freedom and property rights.

[37] "Der Preis des Fussballs." *Sueddeutsche Zeitung*, December 19, 1998, no page (Lexis-Nexis)

[38] The constructed sample for this analysis does not contain a game broadcast by ESPN2. The opening game was broadcast by ESPN and the other two games by ABC.

analysis is based on the coverage transmitted by the respective broadcasters (the "adapted" audio and video signal based on the world feed). An important advantage - beyond the previously discussed conceptual reasons - for selecting German and U.S. television coverage for this study is that it allows the author, a German native, to independently code the entire footage.

Sample

The World Cup 1998 took place in France between 10 June - 12 July 1998. The tournament featured the world's best 32 teams who had to play through qualifying matches in their geographic region in order to qualify for the World Cup. Between the opening match and the final a total of 64 matches were played. All matches involving the German team, the U.S. team, as well as the opening game and the final match were video-recorded by the author in both countries.[40] From the recorded footage, the following three matches were selected for a constructed sample (justification given below):

1. **The opening match of the World Cup tournament on June 10, 1998 between Brazil and Scotland.**[41]

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[39] One "commercial element" in televised soccer coverage that often goes unnoticed are the billboards inside the stadium. The event organizer, FIFA, through an agency, leases these billboards to mostly multinational corporations, which resemble many of the advertisers we are familiar with from the Olympics and other global sport events. Despite their economic significance for FIFA, billboards are not subject of this analysis since they are not sold by television.

[40] The author wishes to thank family and friends for their help and support in this tedious process.

[41] It is a tradition to have the defending champion, in this case Brazil, play the opening game of the World Cup. To see the "crowning champions" in their quest to defend the title start the tournament, only adds to the worldwide appeal of this day and game.

The World Cup is played "only" every four years and is, therefore, an event that is anxiously awaited all over the world. The opening game is played immediately after the opening ceremony,[42] which elevates the game's significance as the day's "feature event."

2. **The first-round match between Germany and the United States on June 15, 1998.**

This match features the national teams representing the countries of the broadcasters subject of this analysis. It allows for a comparison of the coverage when "their" national team ("the home team") is playing (as opposed to coverage of two teams and countries the broadcasters are not directly related to). Local media coverage tends to focus on their own team because it is, obviously, what the audience at home is most interested in.[43] The performance of the team matters not only to the audience (fans) at home but also to the media reporting on the event. Reporters tend to enjoy their job much more when their team is competing (and competing well).[44] More importantly, since fan interest directly translates into ratings, the team's performance is obviously crucial for the financial success of the broadcaster.

3. **The World Cup final between the host nation France and the defending world champion Brazil.**

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[42] The opening ceremony for the World Cup is far shorter and less spectacular than the opening ceremony for the Olympics. While it lacks the "grandeur" of the Olympics, it does showcase similar values (peace, harmony, fair play, etc.), reflecting the status as a truly "global event."

[43] Many studies have shown that the presentation of sport events in the media is directly related to the national identity of both the athletes and the broadcasters. Analyzing television coverage of the Olympics, Rowe and Lawrence (1986), for example, have shown that when non-American athletes won gold medals, the coverage was preempted in favor of coverage involving American athletes.

[44] After all, they are "fans" themselves.

The final game is the culmination and the highlight of the World Cup. And much like the opening game, the championship match tends to attract audiences around the world irrespective of what national teams are playing. The match-up of the underdog host nation France who had never won a World Cup against the defending and four-time world champion and soccer giant Brazil could not have been scripted better by a Hollywood producer.

Coding

The author, a native German, coded (and translated) the coverage of both the German and U.S. broadcasters. Based on the broadcasters' "adapted" signal, the common starting point for the coding was the playing of the national anthems.[45] The footage was coded for any aural or visual insertion that can be referred to as either sponsoring or self-promotion by the station, i.e. graphics on the screen and/or the announcer's comments "on the air." Also coded for were pre-produced "sponsoring announcements" (video/computer-animated clips that use either scenery from France or soccer imagery as background images for displaying the sponsors' logo) that were used as direct "lead-ins" to the coverage from the stadium. These "announcements" blend with the live coverage from the stadium in such a way that they almost become part of the coverage. This makes them different from "real" commercials that clearly "break" with the game coverage. Commercials were, therefore, not coded but accounted for on the code sheet (see appendix). This also means that halftime programming (which, in both Germany and the U.S., consists of showing commercials mixed with game analysis in the studio) is not coded. To put it differently, coded for were *all* non-game or World Cup related commentary or graphics seen or heard in the television coverage of the action inside the stadium, including "sponsor announcements" leading in and out of the live coverage.

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[45] For reasons beyond my control, I do not have video footage of the preceding events (e.g., the teams walking into the stadium led by the referees) for the entire sample. However, the national anthem is a good starting point for the coding because it is usually important enough for broadcasters to be shown. The

Results

As expected, there are huge differences in the amount of commercial messages between the German and the U.S. coverage. Both countries' broadcasters had major "telecast sponsors" that were featured prominently during the coverage. But while the German networks ARD and ZDF had only one prime sponsor (Bitburger beer), the U.S. stations had a total of eight (Budweiser, Nike, Canon, Army, FedEx, Honda, MasterCard, National Car Rental). This is indicative of the overall difference in commercialization in the coverage.

The German coverage was virtually commercial-free. The only commercial insertion was a six-second-long, computer-animated clip that was shown before the beginning and after the end of each half (total of four times). The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger logo covering the stands and it ends with a "still" of the Bitburger logo. A male voice (not the announcer's) says (transl.): "Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ARD [or ZDF, depending who's covering the match] and Bitburger!"[46] For the "special occasion" of the championship match, the voice-over was changed to (transl.): "Live from St. Denis: The

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editorial decisions made after that (leading up to the beginning of the game and during the game) are really the subject of the analysis.

[46] "Live und exclusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Preasentiert von ARD (or, ZDF) und Bitburger!"

final between Brazil and France presented by ARD and Bitburger!"[47] At the end of the game, the voice-over was again changed to (transl.): "Congratulations! The new World Champion is presented to you by ARD and Bitburger!"[48] The clip itself was not changed, maintaining the visual impression the viewing audience had gotten used to during the World Cup. These sponsor announcements did not really interfere with the coverage because they were used primarily as "dividers" between the live coverage and the studio/halftime coverage. Also, there was a clear differentiation between the soccer coverage and the sponsor announcement because the voice-over on the clip was not read by the announcer. Therefore, the announcers did nothing but announce the game. There were no graphics shown, there was no promotion of upcoming programming.[49]

Not surprisingly, the U.S. coverage by ABC and ESPN was much more commercialized. In an attempt to get as much "commercial use" as possible out of their airtime, ABC and ESPN became quite inventive. The commercial aspects of the U.S. coverage can be divided up in five categories.

1. Sponsor announcements leading in and out of the live coverage

These graphics are video-produced and feature the stations' logo, the World Cup logo, and scenery from France or some soccer-related imagery in the background. The sponsor's logo (underlined) appears when the name of the sponsor is mentioned by the voice-over (not the announcers') that says (for example): "ESPN's coverage of World Cup 98 from St. Denis is brought to you by American Honda, maker of fine quality automobiles, motorcycles, and power equipment! By MasterCard! MasterCard, the official card of U.S. soccer, Youth soccer and World Cup 98! By the U.S. Army! Be a part of the toughest and smartest army in the world! Be all you can be! And by Canon Laser Color! It's only competition is reality!"

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[47] "Live aus St. Denis: Das Finale Brasilien - Frankreich preasentiert von ARD und Bitburger!"

[48] "Herzlichen Glueckwunsch! Den neuen Fussball-Weltmeister preasentieren Ihnen ARD und Bitburger!"

[49] There was only one minor exception. In the 54:00 min. of the opening game on ZDF, there was a short insert at the bottom of the screen that read: "World Cup 98 Audience Telephone, tel. #" ("WM 98 Zuschauertelefon, tel. #"). This was a new service for the viewers that – since it was the first game of the World Cup – had to be briefly explained by the announcer. Viewers can call this number and ask World Cup related questions (rules, history, TV schedule, etc.). This service was sponsored by the station.

Much like German television's use of the Bitburger clip, these "sponsor announcements" are used as "dividers" between the live coverage and commercials (that are preceded or followed by game analysis in the studio). While they "blend" with the live coverage, they are nevertheless clearly separate from the live event, particularly because the voice-over is not the same as the announcers' voice. ABC and ESPN used these announcements in a somewhat more inconsistent way than the German networks. In both the opening game (ESPN) and the U.S. - Germany match (ABC) they were used only twice, before and after halftime. In the championship match, ABC used the sponsor announcement four times (before the start of the match, at the end of the first half, and twice after the match when the coverage was extended because of the trophy award). ABC decided to give extra time (devoted to pre- and post game coverage) to this "special" match and, before the start of the match, changed the before mentioned procedure somewhat. As the teams entered the field, ABC superimposed the world feed footage with logos of their corporate sponsors. This time the announcer Bob Ley (not the anonymous voice in the "off") said the same sentence described above, with the sponsor's logo appearing on the screen when mentioned by Ley.[50]

As mentioned before, ABC and ESPN had to promote eight "telecast sponsors" compared to ARD and ZDF's lone sponsor, Bitburger. The Disney stations, therefore, decided to alternate the sponsors, with an average of four appearing in one clip. Still, the "sponsor announcements" on the U.S. coverage are considerably longer than the Bitburger clip on German TV (25 seconds compared to six seconds for the Bitburger clip).

The crucial aspect from a sponsor's perspective is that their presence transcends the entire U.S. soccer coverage. The sponsors appear not only in the aforementioned sponsor announcements but they make up almost all of the commercials shown before and after the game as well as during halftime. While these commercials are not subject of the analysis, it can be safely assumed that the repetition factor contributes significantly to the intended effects on the audience. There is a third component to this "multi-presence" of the sponsors which will be discussed in the next segment.

2. Sponsor announcements by the play-by-play announcer during the live coverage

In order to keep the audience updated about the score and the time, both the German and the U.S. broadcasters show a continuous game clock and score line at the top of the screen. The way they do it differs considerably though. While ARD and ZDF only show the game clock and the score line at the center top of the screen, the Disney networks use this feature in a much more sophisticated and "commercial" way. ABC and ESPN insert a graphic in the top right corner of the screen that prominently displays not only the game clock and the score line but also, very prominently, the logo of the telecast sponsors.[51] The logos alternate and each time a new sponsor logo appears the play-by-play announcer Bob Ley himself says: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you (commercial-free) by Nike (for example)."[52]

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[50] Bob Ley said: "World Cup 98 on ABC Sports is brought to you by brewery-fresh Budweiser, official beer of World Cup 98 (logo: Budweiser and World Cup '98)! This Bud's for you! Federal Express! Now Federal Express delivers on Sunday because the world works seven days a week! National Car Rental! So, what are you waiting for? Let's go! And Canon Laser Color! It's only competition is reality!"

The logo changes occurred on average 12 times per game (including the start of each half).[53] Occasionally, the actual announcement by the announcer was delayed a couple of seconds because of conflicting action on the field. This clearly shows the intrusive nature of the spoken sponsor announcement. It would be hardly an interruption of the natural flow of the game coverage (if at all) if this practice were limited to just changing the logo on the screen. By having the announcer read (or, say) this announcement, however, it not only interrupts the play-by-play but it also clearly makes the announcer less of a neutral reporter or observer of the game and more of a salesman promoting corporate interests. In addition to this, the announcer Bob Ley said the following sentence at the beginning of each half of the match: "We at ABC Sports (or, ESPN) wish to thank Nike, Honda, Canon, MasterCard, U.S. Army, and Budweiser (for example) for allowing us to bring you today's game commercial-free." In this sentence, all the sponsors whose logo will appear on the screen *during that half* are mentioned.[54] Clearly, this is supposed to heighten the audience's awareness of the role the sponsors play in making this "commercial-free" broadcast possible. The timing when the announcer "wishes to thank" the sponsors may add to the intended effect. At exactly the same moment when the referee blows the whistle to start the half (the kick-off), the announcer has to take the time to credit the sponsors. This moment when the game is kicked off is usually one of excitement where the crowd cheers in anticipation of a great game and where the announcer usually says something along the lines of, for example, "And here we are underway...!" This sponsor-friendly set-up does not leave any room for this kind of excitement and this, again, is a good indicator of the dominant role the sponsors play in this commercialized scenario.

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[51] ESPN also included their network logo in this graphic, while ABC decided to show their trademark logo separately at the bottom right of the screen. This will be discussed later.

[52] German Media Law at this point mandates a clear separation of any editorial content (which includes sport coverage) and advertising. This would make it currently impossible to feature any sponsor logo on the screen like ABC and ESPN have done.

[53] Eleven times for ESPN, twelve times for both games on ABC.

3. Sponsored graphics ("starting lineups")

Presenting the starting lineups (the tactical formation) for the opposing teams presented another opportunity for ABC and ESPN to showcase their sponsors. Before each game, the U.S. stations showed a computer-designed graphic featuring the networks' logo and the logo of one of their sponsors.[55] This is accompanied by the announcer saying: "The team's starting lineup brought to you by Nike," or "Let's check the starting USA lineup! The Budweiser starting lineup!"[56] or "Let's check the Budweiser starting lineup!" The German networks, with one exception, decided to use the graphic provided by the world feed which is plain and simple and does not show the tactical formation of both teams.[57]

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[54] Interestingly, on ESPN the logo changed to the "World Cup 98" logo at the end of regulation. I assume that since it was stoppage time no sponsor had paid for that extra time and since "there is no such thing as a free lunch" ESPN decided to insert the "neutral" logo. ABC, however, continued with whatever logo was used at the end of regulation, all the way through the stoppage time.

[55] For the ESPN game, the "ESPN" and "Nike" logo (the Nike-swoosh) is displayed. For the two ABC games, it is the "Bud" logo for Budweiser beer. In addition, ABC decided to display both the "ABC" logo and an "ABC Sports" logo.

4. Promotion of upcoming programming (World Cup soccer, other sports, primetime entertainment) or the company Website

The importance of extensive promotion of upcoming programming on commercial television like in the U.S. has been discussed above. ABC and ESPN take full advantage of this opportunity, interrupting the play-by-play on many occasions throughout the broadcast and showing promotional graphics on the screen while the action on the playing field goes on. Neither ARD nor ZDF have engaged in this practice. The promotion of future programming is consistently done in the same way on ABC and ESPN, sometimes benefiting the "other" network through cross-promotion.[58] While the game is in process, the station inserts a graphic (strictly following ABC and ESPN on-screen, corporate "design") on the screen. This graphic is superimposed and somewhat transparent, but not enough to be able to watch the action. While the size of these promotional graphics differs, they all clearly obstruct the view.[59] It remains questionable if the semi-transparent design of the graphics is intended to "help" the viewer who wants to stay with the action on the field. While the graphic is on the screen, the announcer "reads" the promotional message that, while presented somewhat more eloquently, states the same information that appears on the screen. ESPN even uses "theme music" that plays in the background while the announcer promotes the upcoming event. There are four different categories of promotions:[60]

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[56] This quote is from the U.S.-Germany match. The same graphic was used for Germany's starting lineup, without mentioning "Budweiser" again.

[57] For the U.S.-Germany match, the ARD network used their own graphic with the tactical formation of both teams. However, this graphic was not sponsored. And since ARD did not produce such a graphic for the World Cup final, it can be assumed that these "special" features are only provided when the German team plays.

[58] This is not surprising since both networks belong to the Disney corporation.

a) Upcoming World Cup games or World Cup shows

For all three games, ABC and ESPN promoted upcoming World Cup games a total of eight times. Three games were promoted on ESPN, four during the U.S.-Germany match on ABC, and during the final (with no more games to be played) ABC promoted a World Cup summary/highlight show.

b) Other sport programming

Both ABC and ESPN took advantage of the opportunity to promote other, non-soccer programming (six times). During the opening game of the World Cup, ESPN promoted only one non-soccer sport, hockey, on ESPN. ABC pushed the upcoming NFL football season with four promotional messages about "Sunday Night Football" (on ESPN) and "Monday Night Football" (on ABC), plus one message about a golf tournament on ABC, immediately following the World Cup championship match.

c) Entertainment programming

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[59] The size ranges from ¼ to ½ of the screen, some cover almost the entire screen.

[60] For details on these promotional messages, please refer to the coding protocol in the appendix.

On both of its two broadcasts, ABC promoted primetime entertainment programming for that same night (a total of three times). Since the U.S.-Germany match was broadcast in a time slot that was normally used for network entertainment programming (*General Hospital*) an announcement had to be made that this episode was moved to primetime that same night.[61] This message was repeated during the match, combined with the promotion of other programming that night (*20/20* and *The Practice*).[62] During the World Cup final, ABC promoted *Sabrina, the Teenage Witch* and Stephen King's *The Stand*. The sport channel ESPN did not promote entertainment programming.

d) Promotion of the company Website

Both ABC Sports (during the championship match) and ESPN promoted their Website once (ABC on AOL – keyword: ABC Sports; and ESPN.com). The message was similar in that both pointed to their Website as a source for additional information about the World Cup ("best and most complete coverage of World Cup 98!").

As stated above, the promotional messages are a major distraction for the eye and the ear. It has to be assumed that the networks are well aware of that, and it also has to be assumed that they try to keep the distraction to a minimum. And while the networks are dependent on these promotional messages, and, therefore, cannot afford to *not* use them, they can try to find a "good" time for them. Timing is crucial in terms of *when* to show the graphics on the screen and "read" the promotional message. Usually, producers (who make these decisions) are skilled and experienced enough to avoid situations where the promotional announcements interfere with the play-by-play. It is attempted to do the "promos" when the ball is out of bounds, a player is injured, etc. This, however, cannot always be planned, and the continuous flow of soccer does not make these decisions any easier. The "timing dilemma" with promotional messages became apparent twice during ABC's coverage when the play-by-play announcer started "reading" the message, then had to pause in order to comment on the game, and then had to continue with the promotional message.[63] These two incidents indicate the clearly intrusive nature of promotional messages. The graphics are clearly more of a concern since they obstruct the view but "read" announcements can be distracting as well when the game is in a critical situation.

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[61] The fact that ABC was willing to move "General Hospital" to make room for soccer was interpreted by the media as a sign that Disney is taking its World Cup coverage seriously. See, for example, Sandomir, R. "Disney Making a Commitment to Complete Soccer Coverage." *New York Times*, June 7, 1998, p. (8)14.

[62] This game also featured inserts at the bottom of the screen by the local ABC-affiliate "KOMO-TV Seattle" that alerted the viewer of the following: "'All My Children' will be seen from 2-3pm today" (in the first half) and "'One Life To Live' will not be seen today. You will not miss an episode" (in the second half).

5. The networks' logo

To prominently display the networks' logo on the screen is important for a couple of reasons. It helps the viewer to identify the station right away, particularly if that person is "zapping."[64] It also helps associating the station/network with the current program, and thereby, particularly when the program is well received, establishes a promotional effect for the future that potentially benefits this and other programs on the station or network. This, then, translates into higher ratings which means higher advertising revenue for the station or network. It is in this context that the station or network's logo (aimed at increasing profits) can be perceived as a "commercial text" that has to be accounted for in this content analysis.

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[63] For more details, see the coding protocol in the appendix (43:30 min. of the U.S.-Germany match and the 39:00 min. of the championship match between Brazil and France). The difficulty of doing the play-by-play commentary while "reading" promotional messages is an aspect that I will not elaborate on further. It is interesting, however, that in the U.S. coverage there was a distinct "division of labor" between the two announcers. While the play-by-play announcer Bob Ley "read" *all* commercial messages, his colleague in the broadcast booth, Seamus Malin, was able to stay focused on the game. In contrast, both ARD and ZDF used only one announcer for the broadcast. I seriously doubt that one announcer by himself would be able to coordinate all these sponsor announcements with the play-by-play. Another observation that was not part of the analysis pertains to the "amount" of commentary. The U.S. announcers talked much more, almost continuously, throughout the game whereas the German reporter allowed for extended periods of time without commentary.

To achieve the intended effect on the viewer, it is, therefore, very important that the logo (the "station identification") is visible. This is where the comparison between the German and the U.S. broadcasters provides interesting results. The German networks both use a logo that, while continuously displayed, is hardly visible. The logo for ARD is the "1" (their channel position in Germany) and the logo for ZDF is "ZDF." Their logos are designed in a somewhat transparent way, particularly the ZDF logo, which makes them very difficult to see. More importantly, they are positioned on the top left corner of the screen, which adds to the visibility problem because most camera positions in a soccer game, particularly the wide shot, show parts of the crowd in the top half of the screen. Unfortunately, the crowd on the top end of the screen provides a constantly changing, blurry background that make the semi-transparent German network logos almost disappear.

To the contrary, the ABC logo, continuously displayed as well, is positioned in the bottom right corner of the screen. In that position, the ABC logo is much more visible because that part of the screen shows the green grass from almost every camera position. The green grass is a uniform color which is a much better background for the ABC logo than the crowds visible at the top of the screen. ESPN displays the ESPN logo as part of the graphic with the game clock, the score line, and the sponsor's logo (see above).

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[64] Clicking through the channels with the remote control, with no particular channel choice in mind.

Summary of the results

For the three games included in the sample, ABC and ESPN used a grand total of 68 commercial messages during the broadcast compared with only 13 on ARD and ZDF.[65] Table 2 below lists "commercial elements" by category and broadcaster.

Table 2: "Commercial elements" by category and broadcaster

"Commercial elements" by category	Disney - ABC and ESPN	ARD + ZDF
"Sponsoring announcements" leading in and out of the live coverage (in parentheses: total length in seconds)	8 (200 sec.)	12 (72 sec.)
"Sponsoring announcements" during the play-by-play (change of sponsor logo on the screen)	35	-
"We wish to thank our sponsors..." (by the play-by-play announcer, at the beginning of each half)	6	-
"Promotional messages"	19	1[66]
Total	**68**	**13**

This analysis set out to compare the amount of commercialization in the World Cup soccer coverage of the commercial broadcasters ABC and ESPN from the United States and the non-commercial, public service networks ARD and ZDF from Germany. The results of the content analysis clearly show that the coverage by ABC and ESPN is far more commercialized than their German counterparts.

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[65] This figure does not include the on-screen appearance of the logos identifying the station.

[66] For the sake of accuracy, the short graphic and "on-the-air" explanation of the "World Cup Audience Telephone" service during the ZDF broadcast is included here.

Conclusion

The World Cup coverage by the German public service networks ARD and ZDF was almost completely commercial-free. With the exception of the Bitburger-clip, there was no commercial "sub-text" in the German coverage at all. In comparison, the U.S. World Cup coverage by ABC and ESPN was permeated with commercial messages intended to promote their sponsors and themselves. This is not surprising. The commercial saturation of the soccer coverage by ABC and ESPN is a reflection of the competitive broadcasting environment these two U.S. networks operate in. In order to break the clutter of competing channels and advertising messages, networks have to aggressively establish a presence for their sponsors and themselves to gain and keep the attention of the audience. This translates into ratings, the sine qua non for any commercial broadcaster.

How obtrusive are the aural and visual commercial messages throughout the game? This question merits further investigation. Clearly, cultural studies with the particular attention paid to the text (the sign and the signifier) represents a welcome approach to these types of questions which seem to escape conventional methods of social science research. Cultivation theory, on the other hand, seems to suggest that audiences will get used to whatever coverage they are exposed to over an extended period of time. This may have the consequence that U.S. audiences do not find anything wrong with the commercialized broadcasts by ABC and ESPN. In fact, they may not even consciously notice the constant promotional messages targeted at them. If all of a sudden German viewers were subjected to this type of coverage, the phones at the television stations would ring off the hook with people wanting to complain bitterly about this type of "commercial onslaught." Clearly, audiences get used to whatever coverage they have been exposed to over the years. More importantly, the commercialization of the coverage may represent a slow and eroding process that changes people's perceptions about TV, about sport, and about soccer. While the *level* of distraction is definitely a question of viewpoint, one does not have to be a purist to feel that the constant commercial messages take "something" away from the game. Literally, in terms of an unobstructed view on the field, but also, for many people, in an idealistic sense the purity of the game. What does it really mean when the announcer says: "The World Cup 98 brought to you by Nike!"? Does the sponsor really "bring" the game? Is a game really presented "commercial-free" when throughout the entire game the audience has to endure promotional messages and look at the sponsor's logos on the screen? Are these questions just semantic hairsplitting? Or is there more to it? At what point will the higher-ups in soccer federations and professional leagues (and the audience) be willing to believe that soccer rules have to be changed to make room for more advertising, promotion, and sponsoring so that the sponsors will continue to be able to "bring us this game commercial-free?" Is this an inescapable trend? What role does television play in this process? These questions will have to be addressed in the future.

It was indicated before that the recent acquisition of the World Cup rights by the Kirch-group and ISL/Sporis represents a landmark change in the media-sport relationship in Europe. Dramatic changes are on the horizon for both broadcasters and audiences in terms of the commercialization of televised soccer. The only way that the $1.9 billion that were paid for the World Cup rights can be re-financed is through pay-per-view, pay-TV, or advertiser-supported, commercial television. As mentioned earlier, the legal uncertainties make it difficult to predict what will happen exactly. Early indication, however, is that the games will be auctioned off one by one to the highest bidder instead of the package deal the EBU received from FIFA. This means that the World Cup games will be spread over many different channels, some per-per-view, some pay-TV, some on a terrestrial commercial station, some on the public service networks, some will be live (on pay-per-view) and others free-of-charge and unencrypted (but maybe tape-delayed). There are many different scenarios but surely most broadcasters will be driven by the profit motive instead of the public interest. ARD and ZDF, fully aware of their public service mandate, will try the best they can to obtain broadcasting rights from Kirch. But the public debate about whether the public service broadcasters should use the mandatory license fees to compete with commercial enterprises has already begun. Are broadcasts from the Soccer World Cup a "public service?" Are ARD and ZDF serving the "public interest" by showing World Cup soccer? Is it a "human right" to be able to watch the World Cup live and free-of-charge? These questions are seriously discussed not only in Germany but on the European level as well where the public service networks are feeling the effects of this just as strongly as ARD and ZDF.

This analysis has shown how different German and U.S. television soccer coverage is at the end of the 20th century. With the evolution of the market for sport rights, it is clear that in the 21st century big sport events like the Soccer World Cup will be presented very differently on German television. Currently, no one knows exactly what the broadcasts from the 2002 and 2006 World Cup will look like. Chances are, however, that they will be similar to what we have seen from ABC and ESPN in 1998.

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Appendix: Coding protocol for non-game-related commentary and graphics/inserts

[in parentheses: game-related specifics providing context to the coded observations]

Code #: 001
Date: 10 June 1998
Time: 5:30 PM
Country: Germany
TV station: ZDF
Game: Opening match of the 1998 World Cup between Brazil and Scotland
Announcer: Bela Rethy

- [national anthems]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exklusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Praesentiert von ZDF und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ZDF and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [ZDF uses the inserts/graphics from the world feed, i.e. in French]
- [ZDF uses its logo (station identification) in the upper left corner of the screen. It is almost transparent and, therefore, very difficult to see against the constantly changing background]
- [ZDF uses its own continuous score line and game clock at the top of the screen]
- [40:00 min.: the world feed provides a game clock counting down the last five minutes of the first half. ZDF's insert disappears.]
- [end of the first half]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exklusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Praesentiert von ZDF und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ZDF and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [halftime: game analysis from the "studio" inside the stadium (Kuerten + Feldkamp), commercials, short news flash ("heute" news), commercials]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exklusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Praesentiert von ZDF und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ZDF and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [begin of the second half]
- 54:00 min.: insert at the bottom of the screen: "WM 98 Zuschauertelefon, #" (World Cup 98 Audience Telephone, #), the reporter explains this "new service" briefly. It is, after all, the first game of the World Cup.
- [end of the game]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exklusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Praesentiert von ZDF und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ZDF and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.

Code #: 002
Date: 15 June 1998
Time: 9:00 PM
Country: Germany
TV station: ARD
Game: First-round match between Germany and the United States
Announcer: Gerd Rubenbauer

- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exklusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Praesentiert von ARD und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [national anthems]
- [ARD uses the inserts/graphics from the world feed, i.e. in French]
- [ARD uses its logo (station identification) in the upper left corner of the screen. It is much more visible than ZDF's logo.]
- [ARD shows the tactical formation of both teams in a graphic made by ARD]
- [ARD uses its own continuous score line and game clock at the top of the screen]
- [end of the first half]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exklusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Praesentiert von ARD und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [halftime programming]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exklusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Praesentiert von ARD und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in

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France! Presented by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.

- [begin of the second half]
- [end of the game]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live und exclusiv fuer Sie: Die Fussball-Weltmeisterschaft in Frankreich! Preasentiert von ARD und Bitburger." ("Live and exclusive for you: The Soccer World Cup in France! Presented by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.

Code #: 003
Date: 12 July 1998
Time: 9:00 PM
Country: Germany
TV station: ARD
Game: 1998 World Cup final between Brazil and France
Announcer: Heribert Fassbender

- [ARD uses the inserts/graphics from the world feed, i.e. in French]
- [ARD uses its logo (station identification) in the upper left corner of the screen. It is much more visible than ZDF's logo.]
- [national anthems]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live aus St. Denis: Das Finale Brasilien - Frankreich preasentiert von ARD und Bitburger!" ("Live from St. Denis: The final between Brazil and France presented by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo. It is the same clip, but the voice-over is different.
- [back to stadium]
- [ARD uses its own continuous score line and game clock at the top of the screen]
- [end of the first half]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live aus St. Denis: Das Finale Brasilien - Frankreich preasentiert von ARD und Bitburger!" ("Live from St. Denis: The final between Brazil and France presented by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [halftime programming]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Live aus St. Denis: Das Finale Brasilien - Frankreich preasentiert von ARD und Bitburger!" ("Live from St. Denis: The final between Brazil and France presented by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [begin of the second half]
- [end of the game]
- sponsor identification, short clip (about 6 seconds), male voice (NOT the reporter): "Herzlichen Glueckwunsch! Den neuen Fussball-Weltmeister preasentieren Ihnen ARD und Bitburger." ("Congratulations! The new World Champion is presented to you by ARD and Bitburger beer.") The clip shows a full stadium with a big banner of Bitburger covering the stands, ends with the Bitburger logo.
- [back to the stadium for the celebration, trophy award, etc. - approximately 25 minutes]

Code #: 004
Date: 10 June 1998
Time: 8:30 AM Pacific
Country: U.S.
TV station: ESPN
Game: Opening match of the 1998 World Cup between Brazil and Scotland
Announcers: Bob Ley and Seamus Malin

- [national anthem]
- commercials
- [ESPN does not use the world feed inserts/graphics. Instead, it uses its own in English and following ESPN's corporate design.]
- play-by-play announcer Bob Ley says: "the team's starting lineup brought to you by Nike." ESPN-produced graphic with the Nike-logo in the upper right corner
- [kick-off]
- Ley: "We at ESPN wish to thank Nike, Honda, Canon, MasterCard, U.S. Army, and Budweiser for allowing us to bring you today's game commercial-free."
- ESPN uses a continuous game clock and score line that features the ESPN logo as well as (in intervals) the logos of the game's feature sponsors in the upper right corner of the screen. Whenever the logo changes to another sponsor, Ley says: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by XYZ." Sometimes the actual announcement by the announcer Bob Ley is delayed a couple of seconds because of "conflicting" action on the field. For coding and simplicity purposes, this routine will be presented here in the following way:
  → Minute of the game, Ley's announcement. The underlined part of the sponsor's name represents the logo that appears next to the game clock and the score line.
- 0:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Nike."
- 10:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Honda."
- 15:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Canon."
- [20:00 min.: camera briefly on the two reporters, insert with their names]

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- 22:40 min.: Superimposed promotional graphic "World Cup 2night" on ESPN2, covers more than half the screen, hardly transparent. ESPN theme music plays in the background. Ley says: "World Cup tonight! Every night of the World Cup! 7:30 Eastern time tonight! A look at the entire day's action, highlights and, most importantly, analysis from our […] crew who will breakdown this World Cup 98 for you! And look forward and give you a look at the next day!"
- 25:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by MasterCard."
- 30:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by the U.S. Army."
- 35:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Budweiser."
- 45:00 min.: The sponsor's logo changes to "World Cup 98." (It is stoppage time, i.e. extra time that no sponsor paid for…)
- [end of the first half]
- ESPN shows a graphic with the ESPN and the World Cup logo (with scenes from France in the background) featuring the game's sponsors. The sponsor's logo (underlined) appears when their name is mentioned. Male voice (NOT Bob Ley): "ESPN's coverage of World Cup 98 from St. Denis is brought to you by American Honda, maker of fine quality automobiles, motorcycles, and power equipment; by MasterCard! MasterCard, the official card of U.S. soccer, Youth soccer and World Cup 98; by the U.S. Army! Be a part of the toughest and smartest army in the world! Be all you can be; and by Canon Laser Color! It's only competition is reality!"
- [commercials]
- [studio, analysis]
- [commercials]
- [studio, preview U.S. game]
- [commercials]
- ESPN shows same graphic they used at the end of the first half, voice-over is different: "ESPN's coverage of World Cup 98 from St. Denis is brought to you by Image anywhere from Canon! The new paradigm for the digital workplace! By Budweiser, official beer of World Cup 98! By Nike! And by FedEx (The Way The World Works.) Now FedEx delivers on Sunday because the world works seven days a week."
- [back to the stadium]
- [camera on the two reporters]
- [camera back on the field]
- while waiting for kick-off of the second half of the match, Ley says: "Norway and Marocco comes along a little later this afternoon at 2:30 Eastern, as they kick at 3:00 Eastern J.P. Dellacamera and Bill McDermott will have that action, they are in Montpellier!" (no graphic inserted)
- ESPN shows a big graphic promoting upcoming games on ESPN and ESPN2. The graphic is superimposed on the screen, somewhat transparent, but not enough to be able to watch the action, covers almost half the screen. Ley says: "Tomorrow's action Italy and Chile, Roger Twibell and Mike Hill, at 11:30 am Eastern, and from Toulouse Seamus and I will have the action of Cameroon and Austria. The "Abominable Lions" against the Austrians! That's a look ahead at tomorrow's action! World Cup 98 continuing on ESPN, ESPN2, and ABC Sport."
- [begin of the second half]
- Ley: "We at ESPN would like to thank Nike, Federal Express, National Car Rental, Canon, and Budweiser for allowing us to bring you today's game commercial-free."
- 45:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Nike."
- 57:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Federal Express (logo: FedEx)."
- 61:55 min.: promotional graphic for hockey on ESPN (covers more than half the screen). ESPN music in the background. Ley says: "Stanley Cup action! Detroit and Washington! Red Wings taking the lead in the series! The action continues tomorrow at 8 Eastern time on ESPN!"
- 62:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by National Car Rental."
- 67:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Canon."
- 79:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Budweiser."
- 84:00 min.: ESPN shows graphic promoting ESPN.com web site. Ley says: "ESPN.com! Pick the winners in the "World Cup Challenge" game! It's free and log on for the best and most complete coverage of World Cup 98!" (music plays in the background)
- 90:00 min.: end of regulation, stoppage time, sponsor's logo disappears, change to "World Cup 98" logo
- [end of the game]
- commercials

Code #: 005
Date: 15 June 1998
Time: 12:00 AM (noon) Pacific
Country: U.S.
TV station: ABC
Game: First-round match between Germany and the United States
Announcers: Bob Ley and Seamus Malin

- [national anthem]
- commercials
- [ABC does not use the world feed inserts/graphics. Instead, it uses its own in English and following ABC's corporate design.]
- Ley: "Let's check the starting USA lineup! The Budweiser starting lineup!" ABC uses a graphic for the team's tactical formation. The graphic features the "ABC Sports" logo in the upper left corner, and at the bottom of the screen the "Bud" logo and an "ABC" logo. The same graphic is used for Germany's starting lineup, without mentioning "Budweiser" again
- continuous "ABC" logo at the bottom right of the screen
- right before kick-off: insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "All My Children" will be seen from 2-3pm today. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)

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- another graphic in ABC's corporate design at the bottom of the screen: "General Hospital" tonight 8/7c. Ley says: "And for those of you tuning in to see 'General Hospital' you can see today's episode in prime time tonight at 8/7 central here on ABC."
- ABC uses a continuous game clock and score line that features (in intervals) the logos of the game's feature sponsors in the upper right corner of the screen
- at the bottom right of the screen the "ABC" logo is continuously displayed. By putting the ABC logo at the bottom of the screen it is much more visible because that part of the screen shows the green grass (uniform color) which is a better background than the crowd visible at the top of the screen.
- [kick-off]
- Ley: "We at ABC Sports wish to thank Nike, MasterCard, the U.S. Army, Canon, FedEx, National Car Rental, and Budweiser for allowing us to bring you today's game commercial-free."
- 0:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Nike."
- 9:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by MasterCard."
- 11:00 min.: ABC shows a graphic (covers 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "ABC Sports - USA vs. Iran - Sunday 2:30 pm ET." Ley says: "The next game for the U.S. against Iran on Sunday at 2:30 Eastern on ABC Sports. A match with political overtones but a very important match for the U.S., especially if they are not able to come out of this game without any points."
- insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "All My Children" will be seen from 2-3pm today. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)
- 14:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by the U.S. Army."
- 19:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Canon."
- 21:50 min.: ABC shows two successive graphics (cover 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that read: "Sunday Night Football, ESPN, 8:00 ET" and "Monday Night Football, ABC, 8:00 ET." Ley says: "Primetime National Football League action on ABC and ESPN this fall. Full season of ESPN action beginning September 6 and Monday Night Football on ABC, note the new time, 8 Eastern! Al Michaels and Dan Dierdorf are joined by Boomer Esiason in the booth."
- 27:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by FedEx."
- 29:10 min.: Ley says: "World Cup 98 action on ABC Sports! We are live in Paris! Complete coverage of World Cup 98 on ABC, ESPN, and ESPN2, every game and in its entirety!"
- insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "All My Children" will be seen from 2-3pm today. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)
- 29:55 min.: "KOMO TV Seattle" logo appears in the bottom right corner of the screen for about 5 seconds. It is considerably larger than the "ABC" logo.
- 32:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by National Car Rental."
- 37:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Budweiser."
- 43:30 min.: ABC shows graphic (covers 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "Holland vs. South Korea - Saturday 2:30 pm ET." ABC promotes the next World Cup game on ABC. Ley says: "Saturday it is Holland up against South Korea and the Dutch will not have Patrick Kluivert available. Of course, he will have the two-match suspension for the red card… (the world feed shows a replay of the German goal that was scored earlier, Ley says: "and a look at the German goal" before he continues) … and the South Koreans know that the Dutch will be looking for more than one point which is all the Dutch got two nights ago against the Belgians!"
- 44:00 min.: insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "All My Children" will be seen from 2-3pm today. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)
- [end of the first half]
- ABC shows a graphic with the ABC Sports and the World Cup logo (with scenes from France in the background) featuring the game's sponsors. The sponsor's logo (underlined) appears when their name is mentioned. Male voice (NOT Bob Ley): "World Cup 98 on ABC Sports brought to you by the U.S. Army! Be a part of the toughest and smartest army in the world! Be all you can be! By FedEx! Now FedEx delivers on Sunday because the world works seven days a week (logo: FedEx. The Way the World Works.) National Car Rental! So, what are you waiting for? Let's go! And, Nike!"
- [commercials]
- [studio, analysis]
- [commercials]
- [studio, analysis]
- [back to the stadium]
- [camera on the two announcers, Ley and Malin. Talk about the U.S. strategy for the second half.]
- [commercials]
- ABC shows a graphic with the ABC Sports and the World Cup logo (with scenes from France in the background) featuring the game's sponsors. The sponsor's logo (underlined) appears when their name is mentioned. Male voice (NOT Bob Ley): "World Cup 98 on ABC Sports brought to you by Canon. So Advanced…It's Simple! Bud Light, for the great taste that won't fill you up and never lets you down! Make it a Bud Light! Nike! And MasterCard! MasterCard, the official card of U.S. Soccer, Youth Soccer, and World Cup 98!"
- [back to the stadium]
- insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "One Life To Live" will not be seen today. You will not miss an episode. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)
- Ley: "We at ABC Sports wish to thank Nike, British Airways, Canon, Honda, and Anheuser Busch for allowing us to present today's game to you commercial-free."
- 45:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Nike."
- 57:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by British Airways."
- 57:40 min.: insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "One Life To Live" will not be seen today. You will not miss an episode. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)
- 60:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Canon."

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- 63:50 min.: ABC shows two successive graphics (cover 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that read: "Sunday Night Football, ESPN, 8:00 ET" and "Monday Night Football, ABC, 8:00 ET." Ley says: "Primetime NFL action on ABC and ESPN! A full season on ESPN beginning September 6th, live coverage each Sunday at 8 Eastern beginning with the Raiders and the Chiefs! And Monday Night Football on ABC, a new time at 8 Eastern, as Boomer Esiason steps into the booth with Al and Dan, beginning September 7th with the Patriots and the Broncos."
- 71:00 min.: insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "One Life To Live" will not be seen today. You will not miss an episode. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)
- 71:53 min.: "KOMO TV Seattle" logo appears in the bottom right corner of the screen for about 5 seconds. It is considerably larger than the "ABC" logo.
- 72:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Honda."
- 73:68 min.: ABC shows a graphic (covers 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "ABC Tonight: General Hospital, 20/20, The Practice, Starting 8/7 c." Ley says: "Tonight on ABC a special episode of 'General Hospital' in prime time at 8/7 central, followed by 20/20 and Dillan McDermott in 'The Practice', all tonight on ABC!"
- 78:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Budweiser."
- 84:30 min.: ABC shows a graphic (covers 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "ESPN - Germany vs. Yugoslavia - Sunday 8 am ET." Ley says: "Germany's next match against Yugoslavia! Make plans to watch ESPN Sunday morning at 8 Eastern time from the lovely little grounds of Lens where last night we saw Jamaica and Croatia. A critical match for the U.S.!"
- 86:16 min.: insert in plain white letters at the bottom of the screen that reads: "One Life To Live" will not be seen today. You will not miss an episode. (message from ABC's local affiliate KOMO TV - Channel 4)
- [end of the game]
- [commercials]

Code #: 006
Date: 12 July 1998
Time: 12:00 AM (noon) Pacific
Country: U.S.
TV station: ABC
Game: World Cup Final (Championship match) between Brazil and France
Announcers: Bob Ley and Seamus Malin

- [opening statements by the two reporters, game strategy, etc.]
- commercials
- [ABC does not use the world feed inserts/graphics. Instead, it uses its own in English and following ABC's corporate design.]
- Ley: "Let's check the Budweiser starting lineup!" ABC uses a graphic for the team's tactical formation. The graphic features the "ABC Sports" logo in the upper left corner, and at the bottom of the screen the "Bud" logo and an "ABC" logo.
- continuous "ABC" logo at the bottom right of the screen
- camera shows a "wide" shot of the stadium with the "lead camera"
- as the teams enter the field, ABC superimposes their corporate sponsors for this game. Ley says (the company's logo appears when mentioned): "World Cup 98 on ABC Sports is brought to you by brewery-fresh Budweiser, official beer of World Cup 98 (logo: Budweiser and World Cup '98)! This Bud's for you! Federal Express! Now Federal Express delivers on Sunday because the world works seven days a week! National Car Rental! So, what are you waiting for? Let's go! And Canon Laser Color! It's only competition is reality!"
- [national anthems]
- [commercials]
- [back to stadium]
- Ley: "We at ABC Sports wish to thank Nike, Canon, the Office of National Drug Control Policy, the U.S. Army, FedEx, National Car Rental, British Airways, and Budweiser for allowing us to bring you this World Championship match commercial-free."
- [kick-off]
- again, ABC uses a continuous game clock and score line that features (in intervals) the logos of the game's feature sponsors in the upper right corner of the screen
- at the bottom right of the screen the "ABC" logo is continuously displayed.
- 0:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by Budweiser."
- 11:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by the U.S. Army."
- 16:00 min.: ABC shows two successive graphics (cover 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that read: "Sunday Night Football, ESPN, 8:00 ET" and "Monday Night Football, ABC, 8:00 ET." Ley says: "Primetime football exclusively this fall on ESPN and ABC! A full season on ESPN of Sunday Night Football and ABC's Monday Night Football, note the new start time AT 8 Eastern time!"
- 16:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by FedEx."
- 21:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by Nike."
- 24:00 min.: ABC shows a graphic (covers 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "ABC on AOL - Keyword: ABC Sports." Ley says: "ABC Sports online brings you exclusive World Cup replay video highlights and Ty Keough's analysis of this match on AOL. The key word is ABC Sports."
- 29:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by National Car Rental."
- 34:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by British Airways."
- 37:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by Canon."
- 39:00 min.: ABC shows a graphic (covers 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "Sabrina, the Teenage Witch, The Wonderful World of Disney, Stephen King's 'The Stand', Starting 7/6 c." Ley says: "Tonight on ABC Melissa Joan Heart stars in the movie that started the hit TGIF-series 'Sabrina, The Teenage Witch' on The Wonderful World of Disney... ("Barthez [the French goalkeeper] is there!" [Ley comments on the game before he continues.])…. Then Stephen King's highest-rated mini-

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series ever becomes an ABC summer event: Rob Lowe, Gary Sinese, Ruby D, Molly Ringwald star in 'The Stand' tonight on ABC!"

- [end of the first half]
- ABC shows a graphic with the ABC Sports and the World Cup logo (with scenes from France in the background) featuring the game's sponsors. The sponsor's logo (underlined) appears when their name is mentioned. Male voice (NOT Bob Ley): "World Cup 98 on ABC Sports brought to you by Nike! Canon Laser Color! It's only competition is reality! Brewery-fresh Budweiser, official beer of World Cup 98! This Bud's for you! And British Airways. The World's favorite airline! "
- [commercials]
- [studio, analysis]
- [commercials]
- [studio, analysis, World Cup highlights, preview of Golf tournament on ABC following the soccer match]
- [back to the stadium]
- Ley: "We at ABC Sports wish to thank Nike, the Office of National Drug Control Policy, Canon, Honda, MasterCard, and Budweiser for allowing us to bring you this match commercial-free."
- 45:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Budweiser."
- 60:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you commercial-free by Nike."
- 62:00 min.: ABC shows two successive graphics (cover 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that read: "Sunday Night Football, ESPN, 8:00 ET" and "Monday Night Football, ABC, 8:00 ET." Ley says: "Exclusive primetime National Football League action on ABC and ESPN this fall! A complete season on ESPN and ABC's Monday Night Football begins at 8 Eastern/5 Pacific, so make a note of the new start time!"
- 68:14 min.: ABC shows a graphic (covers 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "ABC Sports: Ford Senior Players Championship Next!" Ley says: "Next on ABC Sports the final round coverage of the Ford Senior Players Championship at the Tournament Players Club of Michigan [...], coming up after the World Championship match!"
- 69:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Honda."
- 73:55 min.: ABC shows a graphic (covers more than 1/4 of the screen, bottom left corner) that reads: "World Cup 2night on ESPN2 - 7:30 Eastern/4:30 Pacific." Ley says: "World Cup tonight on ESPN2 at 7:30 Eastern time! Dave [...] and the gang will wrap off the Championship match!"
- 75:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by MasterCard."
- 81:00 min.: "This portion of today's/tonight's game is presented by/brought to you by Canon."
- [end of the game]
- ABC shows a graphic with the ABC Sports and the World Cup logo (with scenes from France in the background) featuring the game's sponsors. The sponsor's logo (underlined) appears when their name is mentioned. Male voice (NOT Bob Ley): "World Cup 98 on ABC Sports brought to you by Nike! Bud Light, for the great taste that won't fill you up and never lets you down! Make it a Bud Light! American Honda, maker of fine quality automobiles, motorcycles, and power equipment! And MasterCard! MasterCard, the official card of U.S. Soccer, Youth Soccer, and World Cup 98!"
- [commercials]
- [studio, analysis]
- [back to the stadium, celebration, award of the medallions to the losing team, Brazil]
- ABC shows a graphic with the ABC Sports and the World Cup logo (with scenes from France in the background) featuring the game's sponsors. The sponsor's logo (underlined) appears when their name is mentioned. Male voice (NOT Bob Ley): "
- World Cup 98 on ABC Sports brought to you by Canon Laser Color! It's only competition is reality! The Office of National Drug Control Policy and the Partnership for a Drug Free America! Nike! And the U.S. Army! Be a part of the toughest and smartest army in the world! Be all you can be!"
- [commercials]
- [back to the stadium, trophy award to the winning French team]
- [commercials]

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FRONT PAGES OF TAIWAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS 1952-1996

by

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FRONT PAGES OF TAIWAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS 1952-1996

ABSTRACT

After years of martial law in Taiwan, editors no longer publish under licensing and page restrictions and have had the opportunity during the past ten years to introduce design innovations. Using content analysis, the front pages of three Taiwan dailies were examined for their use of color, graphics, headline styles, modular design and number of stories. To what extent these newspapers, which print characters rather than letters and use vertical rather than horizontal lines of type, have adapted contemporary newspaper design styles is described.

FRONT PAGES OF TAIWAN DAILY NEWSPAPERS 1952-1996

During the second half of the 20th century, the appearance of newspapers evolved from vertical, gray pages cluttered with rules and dingbats to open, modular, horizontal, and topically organized publications.[1] Publication designers, who introduced these changes, sought to showcase major stories on the front page, grab the readers' attention, facilitate organization, and create visual appeal.[2]

Although international examples of elegant and functional redesigned newspapers have been featured in design collections and textbooks,[3] little attention has been paid to changes in design of newspapers printed with Chinese characters. Some experiments evaluating the effectiveness of design elements have been reported by researchers in Taiwan.[4] However, despite the importance of the front page, no research has traced the evolution of the graphic and design characteristics of Taiwan newspaper front pages.

Research findings from U.S. literature indicate that new technology, competition among media, the rise of professionalism and a growing sophistication among news people about design have all influenced the design trends[5] and understanding of such change can be only surmised from the examination of the newspapers themselves. Based upon Chinese literature, the most likely salient forces for Taiwan newspapers' design revolution are the lifting of martial law and new technology.[6] While professionalism and sophistication among news people are considered two other variables, no research has yet pinpointed their significance.

The purpose of this study is to discover whether the largest daily newspapers in Taiwan have adopted modern graphic techniques and therefore changed their appearance. The study also attempts to explain how new technology and the lifting of martial law have contributed to these changes. Using content analysis, the researchers have identified the design characteristics of a sample of the front pages from three Taiwan dailies published from 1952-1996. The 45 years under study span an era from just three years after the Nationalist government under Chiang Kai-shek retreated to Taiwan, until the present. The three newspapers are the *United Daily News*, the *China Times* and the *Central Daily News*. All are broadsheets, and all circulate throughout Taiwan.

Literature Review

It is obvious that some of the changes that characterize the change from traditional to contemporary design in Western newspapers are irrelevant in Chinese printing. For example, lowercase headline styles and ragged right line justification that often are found in contemporary Western type design are irrelevant in Chinese newspapers because characters have no capitalized forms and each character in a specific typographic style takes up exactly the same horizontal and vertical space. Also, stories never jump from the front page.

Because of Chinese literary tradition, Taiwan newspapers typically flow story text vertically and thus use rows, rather than columns. Body text is separated by horizontal, not vertical, gutters. Moreover, Taiwan newspapers arrange headlines both vertically and horizontally, and the majority of headlines contain multiple decks. The largest type sizes are main headlines. Smaller type to the right of a main headline functions like a kicker in English text. Smaller type to the left or underneath a larger main headline is comparable to a deck. (Figure 1)

In spite of these contrasts, it seems that designers of Taiwan newspapers have changed the appearance of their publications as much as Western designers have. Nameplate redesign, fewer stories on the front page, color, use of photographs, organizing devices like indexes and logotypes have all appeared in contemporary Taiwan newspapers.

Figure l about here

Taiwan Newspaper History

Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 after the ruling Ching dynasty in China was defeated in the Sino-Japanese War. From then on, the Japanese completely controlled the publication of Taiwan newspapers, which could only publish in Japanese. In 1932, the government finally permitted the publication of *Hsin Min News*, the first newspaper ever funded and published by Taiwanese, but still, only Japanese managers and editors were permitted. *Hsin Min News* was required to publish in half Chinese and half Japanese.[7]

In 1944, Japan's governor ordered the merger of all six existing newspapers as *Taiwan Hsin News*, renamed the *Taiwan Hsin Sheng News* after China's Chiang Kai-shek government took over in 1945. Chiang abolished Japanese-style censorship and one-paper monopoly so that the number of newspapers increased to 28 by early 1947.[8]

Following the Communist victory on the mainland in 1949, the Nationalist government retreated to Taiwan and declared martial law. Blaming newsprint shortages, the government imposed a newspaper ban in 1951, prohibiting applications for new newspaper licenses and restricting the number of pages in each issue of newspapers then publishing. Before the lifting of press restrictions in 1988, the number of daily newspapers was kept at 31, and the number of pages allowed in each issue was very limited: 6 pages in 1951, increased to 8 pages in 1957, 10 in 1996, 12 after 1971.

It is indisputable that this political climate has had an impact on newspaper appearance. Limitations on space contributed to a crowded appearance, little space allotted to art and less attention to design.[9] The 31 newspapers that had licenses during martial law had essentially protected franchises. Though some scholars had urged the application of modern design such as increasing headline type sizes and leaving more white space,[10] newspapers--whether because of the tight news hole or because of smugness brought on by secure status--changed little in appearance.

During this period, news stories arranged in modular shapes were rare. Instead, Taiwan newspapers adopted the irregular dog-legged design format, with rules in the horizontal gutters (Figure 2). The rows of each page gradually increased from 12 to 20, having 9 to 10 characters in each row. This non-modular layout had the following characteristics: the length of a story headline occasionally longer than its text, frequent use of borders and double lines, and a variety of typefaces and sizes even within headline decks. Though prevalent, this design format puzzled readers who often had trouble following wrapped paragraphs and text.[11]

Figure 2 about here

In 1988, when the press restrictions were lifted, the publication pages of the *United News* and the *China Times* dramatically expanded from 12 to 60 within nine years. Also, when other papers were permitted to publish, competition arrived, and since then the number of newspapers published in Taiwan exploded to 361 by 1996.[12] Research was showing that photographs, innovative design, modular format and color were the way to draw the attention of readers and advertisers.[13] Although editors still composed their pages primarily by instinct and experience rather than by attention to design theory and research, changes were occurring.[14]

Another development that deserves attention was the rise of new technologies. Computerized editing became available in the early 1980s and was later adopted by newspapers in Taiwan. The *United Daily News* started to use computing technology for its front page on 15 September 1982. In 1988, the *Central Daily News* became the first newspaper to use pagination. The *China Times* followed in 1989.

Also, *USA Today* had begun publishing in 1982 and was soon being distributed internationally; its emphasis on color, new layout styles and infographics was being widely discussed if not copied by newspapers.[15]

The impact of these changes is significant. Since 1988, Taiwan newspapers have had a larger news hole, allowing editors to apply modern design concepts such as using more graphic items and adding white space while eliminating rules.[16] Also, modular design has replaced the irregular dog-legged layout, which was once believed the easiest format to compose in the letterpress age but became extremely difficult to arrange in the computerized era.[17]

In 1988, the first horizontal-text newspaper, the *United Evening News*, appeared. Like American newspapers, its lines of text flowed horizontally and used gutters to separate columns. Also, like Western publications, the binding, or in the case of newspapers the folded edge, is on the left. Many newspapers, such as *Min Sheng News* and *China Times Evening News*, have adopted this Western format. But the traditional Chinese printing conventions of the leading newspapers, including the three on which this study focuses, remain unchanged today.

Design Elements

This study has identified some elements of contemporary design that have appeared in Taiwan's leading dailies and, using content analysis, traces the changes that have occurred.

Space devoted to ads and news on the front page: Except for the *New York Times* that has a few classified-type ads at the bottom of the columns on the front page, putting ads on the front page is usually considered unprofessional in the United States. Editors expect certain pages to be open--without ads, and if occasionally an ad is sold on a page that is usually "open" editors often become surly and act as if the advertising department has overstepped its boundaries.

In contrast, ads occupy a generous amount of front-page space, often more than half, in Taiwan newspapers. (Refer again to Figure 1). Although scholars have advocated improving front page design by eliminating or decreasing this space devoted to ads, newspapers continue to sell large amounts of front-page space to their advertisers.[18]

Number of news stories : The trend is toward fewer stories on the front page. Sissors describes the front pages of the *New York Herald Tribune,* an early design innovator, as having relatively few stories on the front page, and therefore being always clean and inviting.[19] Utt and Pasternack's study found that 70% of American newspapers' front pages accommodate 6 to 9 stories.[20] No studies were found in current Taiwan literature that examined the number of front page stories.

Use of graphics : According to a survey of news editors, contemporary front page design of American daily newspapers uses more color and graphics including photographs, illustrations, and infographic items.[21]

With respect to photographs, Utt and Pasternack's study in 1989 found that 56.5% of American newspapers average two photos on the front page, and 94.6% place a dominant one.[22]

Taiwan newspapers rarely placed photographs on the front page prior to 1988. The reason for this was not only the tight news hole but also a view prevalent among editors that did not value photos for their ability to convey a message. A senior photographer complained that a photo was used usually not for its value of information but for the need of filling the hole.[23] Use of photographs and other graphic elements has increased markedly in the past 10 years.[24] Editors acknowledge that illustrations and infographics can attract readers, but many find the creation and use of these graphic elements too complex.[25]

In fact, poor performance in graphic items may have a negative effect on newspaper design. Wanta and Remy's study compares how efficiently readers can recall information about four page elements: pullout quotes, index items, story texts and graphics and concludes that graphics is the least efficient item for readers to recall. This, if not implying a reduction of use of graphics, explores a need for newspapers to improve graphics so that readers can easily process information they seek to convey.[26]

Use of color : Using color on front pages is considered one characteristic of modern design. Click and Stempel's study confirms that readers prefer front pages with spot color such as tint blocks and borders.[27] But using color as a strategy to enhance readability seems unwarranted. Wanta and Gao discovered that their research subjects were indifferent toward color. This, they surmise, could be due to the subjects' lack of exposure to color pages in their previous reading experiences.[28] Utt and Pasternack find a majority (56.5%) of American newspapers regularly use four-color photographs on the front page. Their study, however, concludes the larger the paper, the less likely it is to use a color photo on the front page.[29]

Taiwan newspapers did not adopt color widely until martial law was lifted. Taiwan's editors are very conservative in the use of full color on the front pages, but still believe it has the potential to attract more readers.[30]

Headline characteristics : As described earlier, Taiwan newspaper headlines are by nature very different from those of Romanized ones. In the research literature, there is no consensus about the proper use of headline typefaces. Some researchers, adopting American layout theory, believe using fewer or even uniform typefaces is better design,[31] whereas others prefer a variety of typeface combinations among main headlines, side headlines and decks.[32] In general, Taiwan newspapers tended to simplify their headline styles after 1988, having fewer decks and less variety in typeface style.[33]

Design format : By 1989, 78% of American newspapers had adopted modular format.[34] Utt and Pasternack also found that 90.9% did not use rules after 1984.[35] Taiwan's newspapers basically have followed the same design trend--abolishing rules and borders and consistently using modular design on the front pages since the late 1980s.[36] Although some experimental research before the lifting of martial law had suggested modular shape was a better design format, the introduction of new technologies and the adoption of modular design did not occur until 1988.[37]

This newspaper history and earlier research on these design topics--percentage of space allotted to ads and news, number of stories, number of photographs, number of illustrations, use of news index and stock and weather information, use of color, and headline characteristics--lead to the following research questions:

1. What are the design characteristics of Taiwan daily newspaper front pages from 1952 to 1996 with respect to percentage of space allotted to ads and news, number of stories, use of color and graphics, design format and headline characteristics?

2. When were the modern design innovations--use of color and grapics, decrease in number of stories, modular design--introduced to the front pages of these three leading Taiwan dailies?

Method

Research Sample

Three leading Taiwan newspapers, the *Central Daily News*, the *China Times* and the *United Daily News*, were chosen for this study. Resuming publication in 1949, the *Central Daily News* is the most influential government-controlled daily newspaper in Taiwan. The *China Times* and the *United Daily News*, respectively established in 1950 and 1952, are the largest and most prestigious newspapers in Taiwan, each with a circulation claimed to be around one million. (No independent auditing of circulation figures is available in Taiwan).

Seven issues of each of the three newspapers were randomly selected from each of the 45 years. Except that the 1952-1953 copies of the *United Daily News* are missing, researchers have coded the front pages of this random sample as well as all the news stories on these front pages. Coding of 931 front pages and 6713 news stories was completed.

Research Data

For each issue of each newspaper in the sample, the front page was coded for percent of space devoted to news and advertising, number of stories, photographs and illustrations, column rules, use of color, news index and graphic information (stock/weather information). For each news story on the front page, information coded includes headline and text typography, headline directions (vertical/horizontal), headline and news area, total words of the text as well as the main headline, and the news format (modular/non-modular).

Researchers divided the 45 years into six periods: (1) 1952-1957, (2) 1958-1966, (3) 1967-1970, (4) 1971-1981, (5) 1982-1987, (6) 1988-1996. The time periods reflect eras of political and technological change. From 1952-1957, Taiwan newspapers could only publish 6 pages. The number of pages permitted was increased to 8 between 1958-1966, and further to 10 between 1967-1970. From 1971 to 1987, the pages for publications were increasing but still limited to 12. Since computerized editing was first adopted in 1982, researchers decide to divide this 12-page publication era into two periods: 1971-1981 and 1982-1987. When martial law was lifted, computerized editing also started to play a dominant role in newspaper layout and design, thus 1988-1996 is the last period.

Reliability Test

Four students, three undergraduates and one graduate, served as coders in this project. These students are all journalism majors, and have taken courses in newspaper editing. Before they started coding formal samples, coders were trained to ensure consistency. A test of inter-coder reliability [38] was performed by using 14 randomly selected front pages for five randomly selected items: headline area, number of headline decks, headline direction, total words of the top story, and number of headline typefaces of the top story. Inter-coder agreements were headline area .86, number of headline decks .95, headline direction 1.00, total words .83, and headline typefaces .95.

Findings

Percentage of space allotted to ads and news

Almost every daily newspaper places advertising on the front page. The front page is usually divided horizontally with advertising taking the lower part of the page, leaving the upper part for editorial display.

As shown in Table 1, the average percentage of space allotted to ads on the front page for the three newspapers increased from a low of 44.3% in 1952-1957 to a high of 75.4% in 1982-1987 and then declined to 57.5% in 1988-1996. Obviously, as the space devoted to ads increased, the space for news on the front page declined by the same percentage.

Table l about here

Number of stories

The average number of front page stories for the three newspapers during the 45 years is 7.93. However, the average number of stories on the front page declined gradually from a high of

15.29 between 1952-1957 to a low of 4.93 between 1988-1996 (Table 2). Taking into account the increasing space allotted to news stories after 1988, it is obvious that the front pages have become less dense and top stories are given prominent display.

Table 2 about here

Number of photographs and illustrations: Prior to 1988-1996, most front pages did not have a photograph. The average number of photographs declined from 0.74 per front page in 1952-1957 to a low of 0.13 in 1982-1987 and then increased sharply to a high of 1.44 in 1988-1996 (Table 2).

Table 2 also shows that prior to 1988-1996, most front pages had no illustrations. The average number of illustrations per front page increased from a low of 0.15 in 1958-1966 to a high of 1.65 in 1988-1996. After 1988, the prominence of illustrations on the front pages increased with more than half of the front pages containing at least one illustration. Overall, there are more photographs and illustrations than formerly.

News index, stock and weather information

As shown in Table 3, no news index, stock and weather information appeared on the front pages before 1988 with the notable exception of 1952-1957 when 23.2% of the front pages contained a news index. (After 1988, 91% of the front pages carried a news index, 47.1% had stock information, and 56.6% published the weather).

Table 3 about here

Rules

Prior to 1988-1996, most front pages used row rules to separate rows. Since 1988, almost all these rules have been eliminated from the front pages with only 3.7% of the front pages still using them.

Use of color

Many of the Taiwan newspapers print their nameplates in red. In our study, the *United Daily News* began to print its nameplate in red in 1952, followed by the *China Times* in 1956. The *Central Daily News* began to use red in its nameplate in 1980. As shown in Table 4, about two-thirds of the front page nameplates between 1958 and 1987 were printed in color. After 1988, however, 92.6% of the nameplates used red.

Table 4 about here

Prior to 1988-1996 period, with the exception of the nameplate, only 7.8% of the front pages used color. After 1988, most front pages regularly used color in producing visual element with 76.5% of the photographs, 25.6% of the illustrations, 41.3% of the news indexes, 34.8% of the stock information and 29% of the weather reports were printed in color.

Headline characteristics

The average number of decks of each front page headline for the three newspapers during the 45 years was 2.8. As shown in Table 5, the average number of decks of each front page headline declined gradually from a high of 3.13 in 1958-1966 to a low of 2.19 in 1988-1996.

Table 5 about here

The average number of typefaces used for each front page headline was 2.08. The average number of different typefaces for each front page headline declined from a high of 2.19 in 1952-1957 to a low of 1.86 in 1967-1970 and then increased to 2.15 in 1988-1996.

The average area each headline occupied on the front page is 21.84 square centimeters. The average area of each headline increased from a low of 14.38 square centimeters in 1952-1957 to a high of 43.11 square centimeters in 1988-1996.

More than 85% of the headlines on the front pages for the three newspapers during the 45 years were vertical. However, the average percent of horizontal headlines on the front pages increased gradually from a low of 8.2% in 1958-1966 to a high of 37.3% in 1988-1996. It should be noted that after 1988, use of horizontal headlines increased sharply.

Modular design

Prior to 1988-1996, most headlines were placed on the right side of the accompanying story. After 1988, the tradition of placing a headline to the right of the story appeared to be fading, as more front page headlines (37.2%) were placed on the top of the story (Table 6).

Table 6 about here

Prior to 1988-1996, a majority of the front page stories were non-modular. After 1987, most front page stories (62.7%) were modular. Apparently, the three newspapers have adopted a modular format for their front pages (Table 7).

Table 7 about here

Conclusions

This study confirms that the largest daily newspapers in Taiwan, despite their graphic differences from Romanized text, have adopted modern design practices and therefore changed the appearance of their front pages. Color is now the rule; the number of news stories decreased; photos, illustrations and other infographics appear regularly; modular format has been widely adopted.

Although the characteristics of modern design have been incorporated into Taiwan newspaper front pages, many traditional design concepts still prevail. For example, the front-page ads, though given moderately less space after 1988, still take more than half a page, and headlines still tend to use a variety of typefaces.

New technology has had its impact on the changes. But without the lifting of martial law, change would likely not be so significant. Computerized editing was first adopted in 1982. Also, it seems that the moderate increase in pages for publication before 1987 did not contribute to newspapers' modern design. Perhaps newspaper publishers never felt they had enough space for publication under martial law, offering publishers and editors an excellent excuse to resist change. After 1988, when the law was lifted and technology was fully adopted, a design revolution followed.

Future Research

Further research should focus on how functional various design elements are for readers. Their comprehension and preference should also be examined. Academic research reviewed for this paper often mentioned that editors admitted making design decisions based on their own personal preferences or for purely arbitrary reasons. To evaluate proposed design changes, legibility and readability studies should be supported by newspapers. Because Chinese characters are so different from Roman text, it cannot be assumed that what works best in Western publications should be blindly adopted.

Chinese versions of popular desktop publishing software like QuarkXPress and Pagemaker exist. Therefore, all the design flexibility that these software packages deliver is available to those who publish with characters rather than letters.

Chinese is the native language of more of the world's population than any other language. Although Mandarin, Cantonese and Taiwanese, for example, are different spoken languages, they share essentially the same written language. Differences between simplified and traditional Chinese characters can be changed with a computer stroke, in an operation similar to changing the typeface with the font function when word processing. As literacy and press freedom expand among those whose mother-tongue is Chinese, understanding all design elements necessary to publish the most informative and attractive publications in Chinese will be imperative.

Table 1: Area and Percentage of Space Allotted to Ads and News Stories

Years	Area of ads Sq centimeters	Percentage of ads (%)	Area of news Sq centimeters	Percentage of news (%)
1952-1957	801(376)	44.3	1009(147)	55.7
1958-1966	1148(139)	62.6	686(159)	37.4
1967-1970	1298(88)	70.5	544(70)	29.5
1971-1981	1382(104)	74.5	474(62)	25.5
1982-1987	1407(118)	75.4	460(65)	24.6
1988-1996	1076(280)	57.5	795(249)	42.5
Average	1199(280)	64.8	651(236)	35.2
F Value	167.58***		280.99***	

Note: standard deviations in parentheses

***P<.001

Table 2: Number of News Stories, Words in Each Story, and Number of Photographs and Illustrations

Years	Number of news stories	Average words in each story	Number of photographs	Number of illustrations
1952-1957	15.29(3.28)	414(371)	.74(.94)	.49(.55)
1958-1966	9.68(2.60)	461(373)	.63(.75)	.15(.40)
1967-1970	7.58(1.95)	414(307)	.49(.61)	.17(.38)
1971-1981	6.42(1.80)	442(215)	.34(.55)	.31(.47)
1982-1987	6.26(1.65)	447(278)	.13(.42)	.33(.47)
1988-1996	4.93(1.58)	692(298)	1.44(1.06)	1.65(1.33)
Average	7.93(3.82)	475(343)	.88(.03)	.56(.91)
F Value	393.65***	91.61***	1.59***	109.02***

Note: standard deviations in parentheses.

***P<.001

Table 3: Percentage of Rules, Photographs, News Index, Stock and Weather Information adopted on the Front Pages

Years	Rules %	Photographs %	Illustrations %	News Index %	Stock %	Weather %
1952-1957	100	45.5	46.4	23.2	0	0
1958-1966	97.9	48.1	13.8	0	0	0
1967-1970	100	42.9	16.7	0	0	0
1971-1981	100	30.3	30.7	0	0	0
1982-1987	97.6	10.3	33.3	0	0	0
1988-1996	3.7	81.0	69.3	91.0	47.1	56.6

Table 4: Color Used on Nameplates, Photographs, Illustrations, News Index, Stock and Weather Information

Years	Nameplates %	Photographs %	Illustrations %	News Index %	Stock %	Weather %
1952-1957	37.8	0	0	0	0	0
1958-1966	66.5	0	0	0	0	0
1967-1970	65.9	15	0	0	0	0
1971-1981	64.9	4.6	0	0	0	0
1982-1987	66.4	0	0	0	0	0
1988-1996	92.6	76.5	25.6	41.3	34.8	29.0

Table 5: Average Number of Headline Decks, Area, Number of Typefaces, and Average Words of the Main Headlines on the Front Pages

Years	Number of decks	Area (sq.cm.)	Number of typefaces	Words in main headlines
1952-1957	2.98 (1.14)	14.38 (18.03)	2.19 (.89)	9.69 (3.87)
1958-1966	3.13 (1.21)	18.57 (20.86)	2.16 (.95)	10.79 (3.87)
1967-1970	2.75 (.97)	19.60 (21.35)	1.86 (.88)	11.32 (3.89)
1971-1981	2.81 (.97)	20.15 (20.59)	2.02 (.89)	12.14 (3.80)
1982-1987	2.46 (.88)	23.93 (20.92)	1.86 (.74)	14.02 (4.95)
1988-1996	2.19 (.67)	43.11 (25.68)	2.15 (.64)	13.27 (4.38)
Average	2.80 (1.08)	21.84 (22.70)	2.08 (.87)	11.54 (4.32)
F Value	116.49***	231.69***	26.46***	170.39***

Note: standard deviations in parentheses.

*** P<.001

Table 6: Headline Placement Against News Stories

Years	Placement of headlines against the texts			
	Right	Top	Text Wrap	Others
	%	%	%	%
1952-1957	81.4	15.3	2.2	1.1
1958-1966	85.2	13.1	1.4	0.3
1967-1970	86.5	12.2	1.0	0.2
1971-1981	86.5	13.2	0.2	0.1
1982-1987	83.0	15.9	1.1	0
1988-1996	60.6	37.2	2.1	0.1

Table 7: Direction of Headlines and News Stories Format

Years	Direction		Format	
	Vertical	Horizontal	Modular	Non-Modular
	%	%	%	%
1952-1957	88.1	11.9	38.7	61.3
1958-1966	91.8	8.2	40.5	59.5
1967-1970	91.7	8.3	39.3	69.7
1971-1981	88.4	11.6	33.4	66.6
1982-1987	85.2	14.8	37.6	62.4
1988-1996	62.7	37.3	62.7	37.3

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[1] Wallace Allen and Michael Carroll, *A Design for News* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Tribune, 1981); Jack Z. Sissors, "Some New Concepts of Newspaper Design," *Journalism Quarterly*, 42 (summer 1965): 236-242.

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[4] Jia-shih Hsu, "A Study of the Reform of Chinese Newspaper Layout," *Mass Communication Research* 12 (1973): 17-66; Yi-chan Chuang, "Effects of Newspapers' Page Layout on Readers' Cognition and Attitudes" (master's thesis, National Chengchi University, Taiwan, 1997), 8-46.

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[6] Chuang, "Effects of," 18.

[7] Hsu-bai Tseng, *Journalism History of China* (Taipei, Taiwan: San Min, 1973).

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[9] Ti-wu Wang, *The United Daily News: 30 Years of Development* (Taipei, Taiwan: Lian Ching, 1981), 124-125.

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[12] Hsi-jen Ching, *Journalism Almanac of the Republic of China* (Taipei, Taiwan: Chinese Journalism Association, 1996).

[13] Related research includes: J.W. Click and Guido H. Stempel III, "Reader Response to Front Pages with Modular Format and Color," *ANPA News Research Journal* 35 (July 1982): 1-5; Ron F. Smith, "Black & White, Unread All Over? How Design And Color Affect Reader Judgment of Newspaper," *Newspaper Research Journal* 10 (winter 1989): 75-85; Wayne Wanta and Dandan Gao, "Young Readers and the Newspaper: Information Recall and Perceived Enjoyment, Readibility and Attractiveness," *Journalism Quarterly* 71 (winter 1994): 926-935.

[14] Chuang, "Effects of," 48-50.

[15] Literature related to the influences of *USA Today* is abundant. For example: George Albert Gladney, "The McPaper Revolution? *USA Today*-Style Innovation at Large U.S. Dailies," *Newspaper Research Journal* (winter/spring 1992): 54-71; John K. Hartman, "*USA Today* and Young-Adult Readers: Can a New-Style Newspaper Win Them Back?" *Newspaper Research Journal* 8 (winter 1987): 1-13.

[16] Tsai, "Editors' Preference," 123-124.

[17] Shih-an Chen, *Reform of Newspaper Layout* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shih-an Chen, 1988).

[18] Hsu, "A Study," 65.

[19] Sissors, "Some New," 240-241.

[20] Sandra H. Utt and Steve Pasternack, "How They Look: An Updated Study of American Newspaper Front Pages," *Journalism Quarterly* 66 (autumn 1989): 621-627.

[21] Utt & Pasternack investigated editors from 93 newspapers. In "Infographics Today: Using Qualitative Devices to Display Quantitative Information," *Newspaper Research Journal* 14 (fall/winter 1993): 137-147.

[22] Utt and Pasternack, "How They Look," 625.

[23] Kai-yi Yan, "Trends of Photographic Editing," *The China Times Special Edition* (Taipei, Taiwan: Times, 1987), 180-200.

[24] Chuang, "Effects of," 26.

[25] Tsai, "Editors' Preference," 122.

[26] Wayne Wanta and Jay Remy, "Information Recall of 4 Elements Among Young Newspaper Readers," *Newspaper Research Journal* 16 (spring 1995): 112-123.

[27] Click and Stempel, "Reader Response," 3-4.

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[29] Utt and Pasternack, "How They Look," 625.

[30] Tsai, "Editors' Preference," 122-124.

[31] Hsu, "A Study," 59-62.

[32] Hsi-jen Ching, *Foundations of News Editing* (Taipei, Taiwan: Shang Wu, 1987).

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[34] Utt and Pasternack, "How They Look," 624.

[35] Sandra H. Utt and Steve Pasternack, "Front Pages of U.S. Daily Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly* 61 (winter 1984): 879-884.

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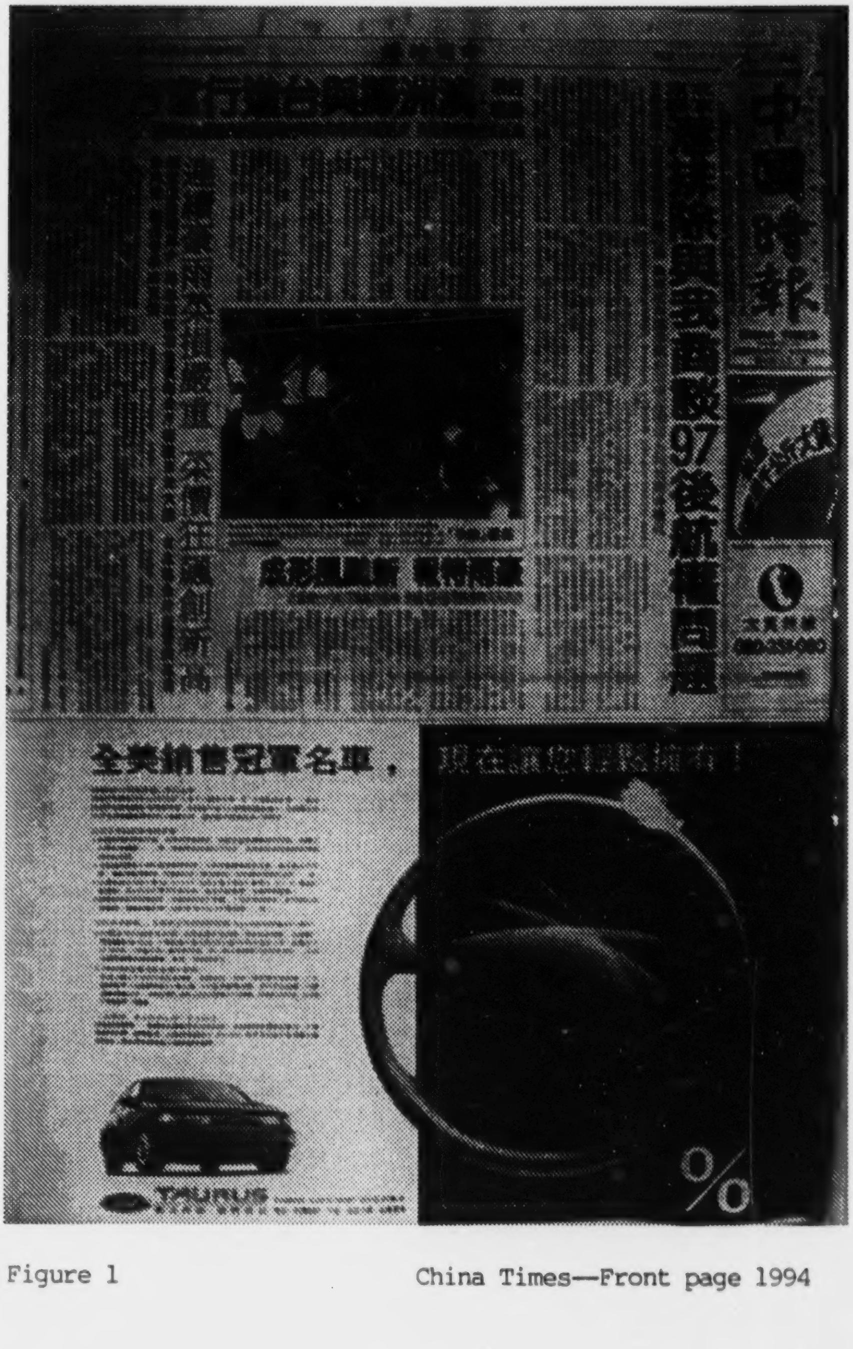

中國時報

全美銷售冠軍名車，

TAURUS

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Figure 1 China Times—Front page 1994

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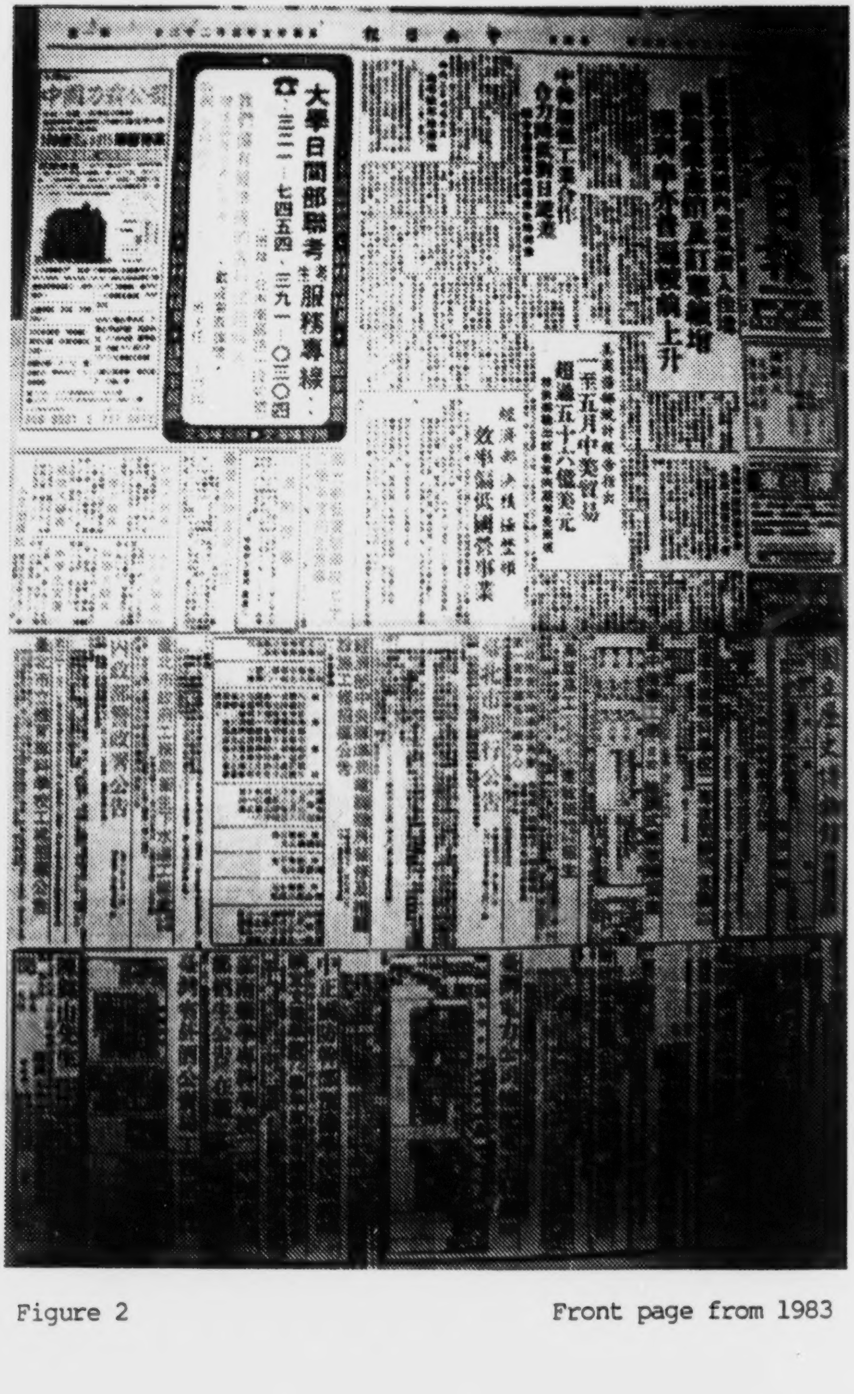

Figure 2 Front page from 1983

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Problematizing Comparative Studies, Institutional Research Environment and Feminist Perspectives in Japanese Television Drama Discourse

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Abstract

In this paper I critique three areas of the scholarly discourse that has emerged to describe and explain Japanese television dramas. First, scholars must go beyond cultural comparisons to study Japanese television. Second, the television industry in Japan has directed the course of Japanese television studies. Third, feminist scholarship, in addition to its image analyses of Japanese programs, could add to the discourse by addressing the issue of positionality.

Introduction

Television dramas in Japan, as a cultural form, have a rich history and close relationship with the contemporary Japanese society. They emerged out of a specific institutional context and evolved over time as they interacted with the changing cultural, societal, political and business environments. Relationships between television programs and society have been thoroughly documented in a social-scientific manner at various broadcasting research institutions. A qualitative perspective that would interpret the roles and functions of television dramas, however, is still scarce in Japan and especially in the United States, where Japanese television dramas are not widely studied in the academe.

In this paper, I will attempt to offer a contextual overview of how English-speaking scholars have approached the subject of Japanese television dramas. "Japanese television dramas" are used here to refer to original dramatic serials made for television Japan, usually shown in the evening for one hour every week on a three-month season cycle. The serials are set in the contemporary and can be further grouped into sub-genres focusing on personal relationships, school, work, and other aspects of life. Each drama provides a rich text that reflects and creates material conditions and cultural trends in Japan. As I mentioned in the beginning, Japanese television dramas are not extensively researched in English-speaking academic circles. Yet, even within this limited amount of research, a discourse, in the Foucaultian[1] sense, has emerged to describe and explain Japanese television dramas.

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[1] Foucault wrote that "...we must rid ourselves of a whole mass of notions, each of which, in its own way, diversifies the theme of continuity," in an attempt to argue against the widely accepted conceptualization of history and various other disciplines. History, or any body of knowledge, is not a perfect entity which we can identify, but have been identifying, the breaks of ideas and the continuation of practices. Our ability to make sense of a certain idea usually comes from retrospective re-organizations, as Foucault

In the discourse scholars and researchers have created, Japanese television dramas are analyzed against their so-called "counterparts" in the "West." I argue that this comparative approach is neither appropriate nor functional. Conclusions drawn from the comparative methodology often lead to the same hackneyed statement; that is, Japan must catch up with West. Only this time, it is the television programs and production quality that need to measure up to the Western standards.

In addition, I stress that the Japanese television drama discourse is closely associated with the institutional media research carried out by various Japanese media organizations. Specifically, NHK (Nippon Hoso Kyokai or Japan Broadcasting Corporation), the public broadcasting service in Japan, has a long tradition in quantitivate research on viewers and programs. The results from the research informed both Japanese and American scholars on the program development and audience reactions to the programs. A critical view of NHK's research, however, is much needed, as it could offer a fresh perspective on the discourse of Japanese television dramas.

Finally, I will address how feminist scholarship has contributed to the studies of Japanese television dramas. The representations of women have been a common research focus that allows for feminist viewpoints with regard to television in Japan. Nevertheless, I propose that researchers could enrich existing feminist perspectives on Japanese television dramas by making better use of the discussions on positionality.

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wrote, "...after all, 'literature' and 'politics' are recent categories, which can be applied to medieval culture, or even classical culture, only by a retrospective resemblance." Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge*, trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 21-22.

Problematizing Cultural Comparisons

In approaching Japanese television, many scholars took a comparative approach by asking, for example, how Japanese television dramas are different from or similar to dramas in Western countries such as the United States or Britain. The question seemed basic and valid, but they contained two fundamental flaws: first, since both the United States and Japan have developed their own unique television programs, there were not always comparable categories for the purpose of a comparison; secondly, like many social scientific researches that dealt with Japan's relationship with the West, studies of Japanese television based on cultural comparisons often treated the "West" as the default standard, thus reiterating the provincial view which deemed Japan as lagging eternally behind the "West."

Mikami Shunji, like George Gerbner and other scholars involved in the same joint international project, asked just that question in his cross-cultural study of the US-Japan television drama.[2] Their research appeared justified in the name of gaining insights to what a culture's television programs reveal about the culture. One basic issue not addressed by Mikami, Gerbner and others on their International Cultural Indicators project was their understanding of *television drama*. They neither defined what they meant by *dramas* nor explained how they selected certain programs between 7 p.m. and 11 p.m. to include in the project.[3]

Within this time frame, Mikami then declared that crime/action-adventures and situation comedies were the two types of dramatic programs that Japanese and

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[2] The study, noted by the author, was funded by the Hoso Bunka Foundation and Toyo University in 1990. Among the members of joint project were George Gerbner, Nancy Signorielli, Hirosuke Mizuno and Toshio Takeshita. See Mikami, Shunji, "A Cross-National Comparison of the US-Japanese TV Drama: International Cultural Indicators," *Keio Communication Review* 15 (March 1993): 29.
[3] Ibid., 30.

American television networks have in common.[4] Situation comedies,[5] however, are only appropriate in describing a certain type of American television program that marries the series format and the standup comedy tradition. The situation comedy category is derived from a particular historical, commercial and cultural context in the United States and it might be inappropriate to simply use the term in the Japanese context without specifying how it is used. The need to renegotiate for a proper drama category was especially notable in Mikami's research since only one Japanese program qualified as a situation comedy.[6] Because this particular Japanese situation comedy was only a number in a statistical chart, there was no further information on whether it is properly classified. There may very well be no comparable drama category on Japanese television that could be categorized a situation comedy. If this was indeed the case, Mikami would have no ground to build his comparison.

Furthermore, by using a cultural-specific genre, namely, situation comedy, in a different context such as Japan, Mikami discarded the unique structures of Japanese television dramas. Describing the structure of Japanese television dramas would have been a good start, for it can contextualize Japanese dramatic programs. At the same time, it would help develop a vocabulary to discuss a complex topic which involves the media organizations and the changing social environment in Japan. As I mentioned earlier, the dramas at focus in this paper refer primarily to evening weekly dramatic programs that are self-contained stories airing on a three-month season cycle. These shows, produced my commercial networks, have various names ranged from soap operas to *torendy doramas* [trendy dramas]. But they are by no means the only dramatic programs on Japanese television. NHK produces *asa no renzoku terebi shosetsu*, or morning serialized television novels that run 15 minutes per episode on a daily basis for six months to one year.[7] Over the past four decades, these NHK morning dramas have encompassed different genres ranging from history, samurai, to family relations and work situations.[8] These limited examples, by no means, describe the range of Japanese television dramas. Rather, the broad scope of the genres and themes suggest that drama productions at each television network in Japan are complex. Artistic concerns, coupled with the rich dynamics within the entertainment industry, are relevant to the understanding of the relationships between television and society--though such contexts tend to get lost in a quantitative, comparative study.

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[4] Ibid., 31.

[5] Situation comedy is defined in Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary as "a radio or television comedy series that involves a continuing cast of characters in a succession of episodes."

More importantly, without contextualization, researchers tend to direct their focus to the issue of deficiency in a comparative study. One of Mikami's statistics tables showed that the Japanese television dramas lacked themes in adolescence, housing and terrorism, whereas the American television dramas seemed to pay more attention to these themes.[9] In fact, Japanese television dramas lagged behind American television dramas in most thematic categories—which Mikami explained away with an ambiguous "difference in program genre and cultural background."[10] A more pertinent question not raised was: against whose standards was Mikami measuring? He clearly measured Japanese television dramas against an American standard.

In his 1993 survey investigating the in-flow of foreign television shows to Japan,

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[6] Mikami, "Cross-National Comparison of the US-Japanese TV Drama," 31.
[7] Paul A. S. Harvey, "Interpreting Oshin—War, History and Women in Modern Japan," in *Women, Media and Consumption in Japan*, ed. Lise Skov and Brian Moeran (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), 79.
[8] Bruce Stronach. "Japanese Television," in *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture*, ed. Richard Gid Powers and Hidetoshi Kato (New York: Greenwood Press: 1989), 128.
[9] Mikami, "Cross-National Comparison," 33.
[10] Ibid., 32.

Hagiwara Shigeru decidedly compared Japanese television programs against a Western standard.[11] He attributed the momentary boom of American programs on Japanese television from the late 1950s to the mid-1960s to the inferiority of the domestic programs at the time.[12] Again, such an argument did not take into account Japan's history of technology development and political context.

Historically, the development of television technology in Japan was synchronous with that in the United States. Kenjiro Takayanagi, a Japanese engineer, was researching the possibility of developing television at about the same time as engineers in Britain, Austria, Germany, France and the United States.[13] Takayanagi made the first successful television broadcast possible in 1926, using a different transmission tube model from the ones European engineers used.[14] In April, 1940, NHK broadcast the first television drama; subsequently, the Japanese government had hoped to telecast the Tokyo Olympic Games in 1945. But development of television in Japan was put on hold when World War II broke out and the Olympic Games were canceled. The five-year gap in television research and the post-war recovery process had delayed regular programming in Japan until 1953; whereas in the United States, regular telecasting began in 1948, just a few years after the war ended.[15] [16]

This brief historical account is not meant to explain why Japanese television programs ought to have fallen behind those of the United States in quality because they had started later. On the contrary, it should be viewed as an important historical context for the early development and growth of television in Japan, which has little to do with the United States except when it is placed vis-à-vis the United States or other cultural constructs of "the West" by those who see comparison as the supreme way of learning the self via the other.

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[11] Hagiwara Shigeru, "Rise and Fall of Foreign Programs in Japanese Television," *Keio Communication Review* 17 (March 1995): 19.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Hidetoshi Kato. "Japan," in *Television: An International History*, ed. Anthony Smith (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 285-286.
[14] Ibid., 287.
[15] Ibid., 288-289.
[16] Agee, Warren K., Phillip H. Ault and Edwin Emery, *Introduction to Mass Communications*, 11th ed.

The content of Japanese television, in dramas specifically, was indeed influenced by American scriptwriters when drama production went into full swing in Japan in 1955. Reginald Rose, author of two famous American teleplays, "Twelve Angry Men" and "The Remarkable Incident a Carson Corners" (CBS, 1954) was said to have provided inspiration for early dramatic serials in Japan.[17] In particular, Rose's dramas tend to explore the relationships between individuals and the community and were thought to have provided, in words of Hideo Hirahara, television critic and former senior researcher at NHK, "the most appropriate model for a Japanese television drama searching for a dramaturgy with more social leanings."[18] Even so, early Japanese television serials were by no means carbon copies of early American teleplays. The key phrase in Hirahara's statement was the *appropriate dramaturgy model with social leanings*. In deed, early Japanese television dramas were written and produced according to socially relevant themes and subjects that pertain only to the specific social backdrop and concerns in Japan at the time. Dramas that were produced in the late 1960s and early 1970s gradually focused on the consequences of rapid economic development and the strain it has posed on individuals. In the last two decades, Japanese television dramas were made in even more complex circumstances as new broadcasting technologies and growing media outlets were figured into the uncertain

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(New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1994), 269.

[17] Hirahara Hideo and Sata Masunori, ed, *A History of Japanaese Television Drama*. (Tokyo: Japan Association of Broadcasting Art Office, 1991) 46.

dynamics among production professionals. As far as the program content is concerned the so-called American or Western influence was only a small part in the big picture.

All in all, the development of the television technology and programs in the United States and Japan may have intersected at several points in history, but it needs not be understood in comparative terms, particularly when it involves cultural comparisons, which is always problematic. Hagiwara's research represented the more explicit kind of cultural comparison under the guise of a social scientific study. On one occasion, he asserted that one of the reasons for the great popularity of American television programs from the late 1950s was that "the program production capability of Japanese television was as yet undeveloped."[19] He also concluded that Japanese films did not appeal to Japanese audiences because imported films were considered superior.[20] His remarks came from the way he phrased his survey questions, of which two asked the participants to evaluate which film and television production, local or foreign, was better.[21] Though highly interpretive, the survey lent Hagiwara scientistic authority[22] to speak, in a matter-of-fact way, on the superiority of American television program versus the inferiority of Japanese television programs. He even used the same reasoning to rationalize why Americans programs were imported in a great number in the late 1950s. It is as if there were a state of equilibrium to be reached in history, better yet, a standard, of course, of *modernity* to aspire to.

The symbolic values of superiority and inferiority do get translated into real consequences, which, are often about control. In Iran, a radio broadcaster was arrested

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[18] Ibid.
[19] Hagiwara, "Rise and Fall of Foreign Programs," 19.
[20] Ibid., 20.
[21] Ibid., 24.
[22] Jurgen Habermas, "The Scientization of Politics and Public Opinion" in *Towards a Rational Society*.

for airing a talk show program in which a caller remarked that the woman she most admired was the fictional heroine in the highest-rated ever Japanese television drama, "Oshin," as opposed to a more culturally acceptable figure such as the daughter of the Prophet Mohammed.[23] Four television executives were jailed as a result of broadcasting the segment.[24] Cultural comparisons do have real consequences. A more holistic approach, such as one that involves historical and contemporary contextualizations, may just help scholars see the inadequacy and inappropriateness in simplistic dualizations.

Problematizing Institutional Research on Japanese Television Dramas

The problem of comparative studies is also a problem of research methodology. To compare is to simplify complex issues in our minds, which, at times, seem only capable of grasping new knowledge through "common sense." The "common sense" that has prevailed in America's social sciences academe since the 1940s has been a quantitative approach, in which complex social phenomena and human behaviors are examined in isolation according to scientific and controlled methods and explained by numbers.[25] Many of the studies on Japanese mass media, including the aforementioned studies by Mikami and Hagiwara, subscribed to the same empirical research methodology. It should be noted that although American influences may have a role in

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(Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), 62.

[23] Corinne L. Shefner-Rogers, Everett M. Rogers and Arvind Singhal, "Parasocial Interaction with The Television Soap Operas 'Simplemente Maria' and 'Oshin'," *Keio Communication Review* 20 (March 1998): 10.

[24] Mark Schilling, "Oshin Versus Ie Naki Ko" in *The Encyclopedia of Japanese Pop Culture*. (New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1997), 168.

[25] In his introduction in *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Robert Merton compares the American tradition of communication studies with that of Europe and points out that American researchers place much more emphasis on empirical data and facts. Robert K. Merton, "Introduction" in *Social Theory and Social Structure*, (New York: The Free Press, 1957), 443.

the development of this empirical tradition in the studies of Japanese media,[26] this tradition was in effect solidified and furthered by the establishment of research institutes within Japan's media industry.

NHK, in particular, played a crucial role in facilitating an environment for scientists and social scientists to research new broadcasting technologies as well as public opinions and audience orientation. As the oldest broadcast media establishment in Japan, NHK underwent different phases over the last 73 years, serving various functions that ranged from the official propaganda office to the public, non-profit media organization it is today.

During the American occupation following the Second World War, the General Headquarters (GHQ) of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Power (SCAP) used NHK to serve the interests of the American government. Programming during the Occupation was highly censored and selective; only programs that promoted values of "democracy and demilitarization" were aired.[27] Programs encouraging the expression of public opinion and unbiased news reporting were among those considered acceptable and desirable.[28]

NHK's transition from an instrument for official propaganda to a public service organization took place when GHQ created the Broadcast Law, assigning public broadcasting under NHK. Today, NHK prides itself as a unique public broadcaster, for it is free from both government and corporate sponsorship. Its annual production, programming and researching budget for five television and three radio stations all come from receivers' fees.[29]

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[26] The United States' role in Japan's broadcasting history was perhaps most obvious during the American occupation period immediately after World War II. The Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), Gen. Douglas MacArthur, pushed for two broadcast laws setting standards for commercial broadcasting and placing the regulatory power in the hand of Radio Regulatory Commission. NHK, for the most part, does not rely much on American equipment and facilities because it uses domestically produced equipment. But other broadcast newcomers, Nippon Television Network Corporation (NTV), for example, created its commercial television network with American assistance. American experts were brought over to assist production as well as facility creation. See Bruce Stronach, "Japanese Television," in *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture*, ed. Richard Gid Powers and Hidetoshi Kato. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 131, 133, 134.

[27] Hidetoshi Kato, "Communication Policies under Occupation," in *Communication Policies in Japan* (Belgium: United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1978), 18.

The autonomous image of NHK, however, must be questioned, especially when the NHK board of governors is appointed by Japan's Prime Minister and that its yearly budget and any increases in receiver's fee must be approved by the Diet.[30] Obviously, NHK is financially and politically accountable to the Japanese government. But two oft-neglected elements undercut the autonomy NHK often wishes to claim: its accountability to the Broadcast Law enacted during the American occupation and its inseparable bind to its own institutional history.

Under Article 44 of the 1950 Broadcast Law, NHK is responsible for “’elevating the level of civilization of the people, maintaining local as well as national programs, preserving a knowledge of the past, conducting regular opinion polls, and creating the Standards of Domestic Broadcasting.’”[31] In other words, the law entrusted NHK to function as an educator, researcher and even industry trendsetter. Well before the Broadcast Law incorporated the opinion poll clause, however, NHK had been conducting scientific and social scientific research. For instance, in 1925, the year NHK was founded, the institute conducted a survey investigating people's preference for

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[28] Stronach, “Japanese Television,’ 133.

[29] Ohgami Takashi, “What's NHK?” in [http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/BCRI/h05-i2.html]

[30] Ellis S. Krauss, “Portraying the State: NHK Television News and Politics,” in *Media and Politics in Japan*, ed. Susan J. Pharr and Ellis S. Krauss. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 90.

[31] Bruce Stronach, “Japanese Television,” in *Handbook of Japanese Popular Culture*, eds. Richard Gid Powers and Hidetoshi Kato. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1989), 129. See also NHK, “Outline of NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute” in *NHK Japan Broadcasting Corporation Online*, [http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/en/b1-e.html], 1998.

entertainment programs.[32] Its scientific research arm, Science and Technical Research Laboratories (STRL), was established in 1930 and researched broadcasting technologies which would enhance transmission and reception. Its most recent research efforts included the miniaturization of television and refinement of high-definition television images.[33] STRL's social scientific counterpart, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute (BCRI), was founded in 1946--although even before then the institute had already been engaged in studies of broadcasting media. For instance, NHK conducted its first national radio survey in 1932, its first cost performance survey of school broadcasting in 1936 and a national time use survey in 1941.[34] Since its inception in 1946 and the enactment of the Broadcast Law in 1950, NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute has gathered abundant data and information on television audiences, public opinions, so on and so forth.[35]

The profuse information the Broadcasting Culture Research Institute produced and continues to produce holds a crucial place in many scholarly publications on Japanese television. In the late 1970s, Miyazaki Toshiko interviewed 183 housewives in a Tokyo suburb to find out how they used daytime dramatic serials. One of the budding theories on the role of media at the time in the United States and Britain was the uses and gratifications theory, which argues that audiences tune in to radio and/or television to satisfy and fulfill certain emotional needs such as the need to escape.

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[32] NHK, "History-Surveys and research that have traced the progress of broadcasting." in *NHK Japan Broadcasting Corporation Online*, [http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/en/b6-e.html], 1998.
[33] NHK, "Studies toward New Broadcasting Services," in *NHK Japan Broadcasting Corporation Online*, [http://www.strl.nhk.or.jp/aboutstrl/activi.html], Updated 3 June, 1998.
[34] NHK, "History—Surveys and research that have traced the progress of broadcasting," in NHK Japan Broadcasting Corporation Online, [http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/en/b6-e.html], 1998.
[35] A chart tracing the survey and research NHK has conducted over the last 73 years included amusement program surveys, national radio survey, cost performance survey of school broadcasting, national time use survey, public opinion on broadcast program survey, school broadcasting utilization status survey, broadcasting and children's life survey, public opinion on broadcasting survey, television audience rating

Miyazaki applied the theory timely and hypothesized that five types of housewives were most likely to turn to daytime serials for emotional support: those who (1) lack social activities, (2) lack interaction potential, (3) are dissatisfied with their family, (4) are introverts, and (5) are fans.[36] The findings indicated that the five types of housewives were not necessarily more inclined to watching television than those who were more sociable, interactive, and more satisfied with family. In other words, the uses and gratification theory hardly supported Miyazaki's hypotheses. It then seemed only appropriate to re-evaluate the housewife typifications and seek out an alternative theory to test the hypotheses.

Instead of questioning the fundamental types of housewives she had devised, however, Miyazaki went to the other extreme by eliminating any distinctions among all housewives and offering a sweeping explanation on why Japanese housewives watched television. The Japanese housewives in the 1970s, according to Miyazaki, were forced to stay home for child rearing, for few public day-care facilities were available. Consequently, they did not have the option to find leisure activities outside the home.[37] Even when they did, they were not knowledgeable enough to find out what leisure activities there were other than television watching. Television, as an "accessible, easy, and uncostly means for spending one's extra time," became the obvious answer.[38] According to Miyazaki, housewives in Japan were incapable of seeking out alternative sources of information because of the family constraints imposed upon them. They were mass-like and, unless enlightened by a higher source, did not know what to do

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survey, Japan-US comparative survey of public opinion and audience, etc. Ibid.

[36] Miyazaki Toshiko, "Japanese Housewives and Daytime Serials in Japan: A Uses and gratifications Perspective," *Communication Research* (July 1981): 326, 327.

[37] Ibid., 334.

[38] Ibid., 335.

with their free time.

Though Miyazaki appeared to be seeking answers from a bigger cultural environment rather than the numbers she obtained from a survey, she did not offer much of a contextual explanation. Mainly, the housewives in her research were passive and helpless masses chained by their children and extremely limited social resources to a point that watching television became the only other logical leisure activity. Miyazaki's previous background as a NHK researcher[39] may have provided her with the necessary research methodology, theory and practice to examine the issue at hand. At the same time, it could also have hampered her from seeing other possibilities such as taking a more qualitative approach by interviewing the housewives about how emotionally involved they were when watching dramatic serials. It was particularly difficult for Miyazaki to consider a fresh perspective when she had been researching similar topics. From her previous research at the NHK, she found a correlation between television watching and other leisure activities. She found that the limited choices of outside leisure activities in Japan "functioned to promote the increase in people's orientation to television."[40] It was almost inevitable that Miyazaki would return to her prior findings for a more comfortable view, especially when her new hypotheses did not hold up in the current project. Additionally, Miyazaki depended on several NHK reports about television viewing for the back material. Miyazaki's research definitely had utilized and incorporated the institutional resources and a social scientific research tradition from the NHK.

This is not to say that NHK researchers are only interested in making generalizations about television audiences, discarding the relationships between the viewers, the dramas being watched and the larger social environment in which a specific audience is formed and the drama, produced. Muramatsu Yasuko, a researcher at NHK's Broadcasting Culture Research Institute, argued that the typical roles of women in television dramas of the 1970s and 1980s reflected social changes in the Japanese society, thus connecting the drama component with the social backdrop.[41] In Muramatsu's study, the drama discourse, as opposed to the viewers discourse, was the focus. Specifically, the melodramatic, love-struck single women in the early 1970s have been replaced by strong mother figures during the economic boom period, in which woman's place had been defined mostly at home. As Japan's growth slowed in the late 1970s, wrote Muramatsu, people's values changed and that soul searching, rather than material wealth, was the order of the day.[42] As a result, in the late 1970s and early 1980s there were more dramas conferring women the roles of the independent, working women, such as "Koi ni Ochite" (Falling in Love), a drama Muramatsu discussed in detail about four women in their 30s trying to make it on their own.

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[39] Ibid., 341. Miyazawa's experience as a NHK researcher was indicated in the footnotes and bibiliography.
[40] Ibid., 340.

The correlation Muramatsu drew between women's roles in television dramas and Japan's changing society seemed commonsensical but simplistic nevertheless. There were factors other than social change that guided the plots and genres of television dramas. A statement such as that "We see more teenagers [on television] today because, as noted earlier, education has become a popular theme..." drew a shaky causal relationship between television dramas and real life.[43] Essentially, Muramatsu assumed that changes in society lead to changes in character representations on television—an argument that held some truth but ignored the creative forces behind drama production.

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[41] Muramatsu Yasuko, "For Wives on Friday: Women's Roles in TV Dramas," *Japan Quarterly* 33 (April-June, 1986): 159.
[42] Ibid., 160-161.

This oversight was particularly salient when Muramatsu asserted that people's materialistic values changed as Japanese economy started slowing down in the late 1970s. Aside from the counterpoint that Japan's economy not only did not slow down in the late 1970s, but continued to bubble well into the late 1980s, there was a whole new dramatic genre known as the "trendy dramas," which were created in the 1980s and catered directly to the supposedly dying desire for material wealth.[44] Trendy dramas of the 1980s portrayed young urbanites' love relationships in affluent settings. In fact, "Koi ni Ochite," the drama that introduced strong independent women in an era in which "material wealth was not valued as much" belonged to this genre. The four women characters, as Muramatsu described, "are fashionably dressed, live in fashionable homes, and those that work are fashionably employed."[45]

The question of why there is a discrepancy between the social reality and telerepresentation is fundamentally flawed because it assumes that dramas are supposed to and able to objectively reflect society. While it is true that some dramas touch upon what are considered important social issues, such as the dramas[46] that heightened the problem of bullying at school, we must also remember that social issues and social problems are defined and constructed from a viewpoint, by the news media, government or other institutions. By the same token, television dramas are constructed from a certain viewpoint in a context that is inseparable from the society. How the dramas

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[43] Ibid., 161.

[44] Mark Shilling, "The Trendy Drama," in *The Encyclopedia of Japanese Popular Culture.* (New York: Weatherhill, Inc., 1997), 274.

[45] Muramatsu, "For Wives on Friday," 160.

[46] See, for example, "Ningen-Shikaku" (Disqualified as a Human Being), a 1995 serial on TBS.

should be interpreted--for instance, whether or not they are in sync with the current issues--depends on the writers, producers and others involved in the planning process.

In the 1980s and 1990s, a NHK television drama, "Oshin," after achieving the highest ratings[47] in the history of Japanese television, became widely distributed around the world, sparking a surge of academic interest in Japanese television and television as means of international communication. "Oshin," broadcast daily by NHK from April 4, 1983 to March 31, 1984 as a 15-minute morning drama, tells the life story of Oshin, a woman born in 1901 in a poor tenant farmer village in Northern Japan who struggles through harsh conditions to eventually own her own supermarket chain. Academic studies on "Oshin" as a collective were very much indebted to NHK. In February, 1991, NHK arranged an international symposium in Tokyo with the theme, "The World's View of Japan Through 'Oshin',"[48] allowing the producers and writers of the drama to discuss with scholars the meaning of "Oshin." The discussions from the symposium, along with other data on "Oshin," such as the drama guidebook published during the airing of the show, were made available by NHK and used widely among researchers. One of the reasons why academic researchers used NHK data was because NHK, a public corporation, is legally required to make its research readily available to the public. However, NHK reports and statistics were often included uncritically, as if the numbers NHK produced and methodology it adopted are objective and matters of fact.

In their study of the popularity of "Oshin" in Iran, Hamid Mowlana and Mehdi Mohsenian Rad applied a similar empirical methodology to studying the drama's appeal to Iranian audiences.[49] Mowlana and Rad decided to study "Oshin" because the show was the highest rated show during the year (1988) it was broadcast on Iranian television.[50] They contended that the drama's appeal in Iran had more to do with Iran's cultural context than Iranians' interest in Japan. They surveyed 184 families in 16 cities and townships in Iran, asking questions regarding the audience's exposure to "Oshin" and their degrees of emotional involvement. As can be expected, some were more emotionally involved than others. The survey also indicated that age, education and occupation were not related to people's exposure to "Oshin."

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[47] When Oshin was shown in Japan in 1983-1984, the average audience ratings were 52.6 %. See NHK, "TV Novel Series: 15 Minute Drama Series," *Broadcasting Culture and Research Bulletin* 5, (Summer, 1998), [http://www.nhk.or.jp/bunken/BCRI/h05-d5.html#000].

The study's contribution and strength occurred on few occasions when Mowlana and Rad sought answers outside their questionnaire responses. For instance, Mowlana and Rad looked into Iranian press for social commentaries with regard to "Oshin"'s popularity. Editors of several different publications asserted that Oshin struck a chord with the Iranian audience because Iran in the 1980s experienced economic and political hardships similar to the setting in "Oshin," which stretches across the first 80 years of the 20th century.[51] In the serial, Oshin grows up against the backdrop of World War I, experiences the military buildup leading to World War II and struggles through the dreary post-war recovery. Mowlana and Rad noted that the magazine editors who observed a similarity between the setting in "Oshin" and Iran's cultural conditions took a strong ideological stand, which is critical of "Oshin"'s popularity in Iran. The Iranian editors did not approve of the way Iranian "masses" fell for the nostalgic and heroic

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[48] Harvey, "Interpreting Oshin—War, History and Women in Modern Japan," 89.
[49] Hamid Mowlana and Mehdi Mohsenian Rad, "International Flow of Japanese Television Programs: The 'Oshin' Phenomenon, *KEIO Communication Review* 14 (March, 1992), 51.
[50] Oshin had the highest rating of 82, 79 and 76 percent of the total television audience during the three quarters of 1988. See Ibid., 55.
[51] Etelaat Haftagi, a weekly magazine, believes Oshin's heroism would be useful to the Iranian audiences in a period of economic hardship.

romanticism in the drama. As soon as Mowlana and Rad became aware of the ideological nature of the press commentaries, they seemed apprehensive of the press perspective and wanted to look for a more scientific affirmation to balance out.

Once again, they turned to their questionnaires for audience responses on the similarity of "Oshin" and present-day life in Iran. They found that there was a high percentage of the viewers who thought "Oshin" was similar to Iran in certain existing social conditions.[52] On the one hand, the statistics helped to explain why "Oshin" was well received among the Iranians. But on the other hand, Mowlana and Rad seemed to believe that the results from their questionnaires were more trustworthy and spoke more volume than the news editors' "biased" opinions. In truth, the survey responses they collected were contingent to the questions they asked. And their questions embodied their assumptions, even anticipations of the response. Their own ideological positions, in turn, manifested in the statistics they compiled, although under the guise of numbers, they appeared more reliable.

In studying a television drama like "Oshin", it is imperative to recognize that television dramas are ideological constructs that were created in specific historical and cultural contexts. The historical meaning of "Oshin" was perhaps most successfully addressed in Paul A. S. Harvey's "Interpreting Oshin—War, History and Women in Modern Japan."[53] Like much of the research I have mentioned, Harvey's research relied heavily on NHK reports and statistics. Harvey, however, was careful not to become just another NHK correspondent in the academe. It is important to acknowledge NHK's information-gathering wing, a rich depository as well its effort to make its research findings public. But too often, scholars using NHK reports treat them as if they were objective and ahistorical facts without examining the social context in which a particular survey was made. Harvey's research avoided this problem by contextualizing NHK's reports. In addition, Harvey avoided many of the problems inherent in quantitative methodology by supplementary NHK's numbers with qualitative interpretations. For example, Harvey proposed that "Oshin" was made for a nostalgic reason to inform the young people about traditional Japanese values. He cited several NHK surveys that determined young people's orientations in the late 1970s. But more importantly, he contextualized the surveys by pointing toward a social concern at the time—deteriorating moral values in the face of newly achieved affluence. Although "Oshin" was not meant to be a public relations or propaganda piece, the setup and the story of "Oshin," Harvey argued, was very much in tune with the concern of slipping morality. "Oshin" opened with an older Oshin speaking to her grandson about her life and discovering that she has lost something on the way. At this point, Harvey borrowed techniques from literary analysis to draw a metaphor of Oshin as a representative of the older generation who was telling her grandson—the younger generation—about her life and what she has traded in to become well-off. The implied meaning was that the Japanese society has sacrificed something for its economic boom as well.

Mourning the demise of Japanese traditional values was not the only interpretation Harvey generated for "Oshin." His research allowed multiple readings of the drama. The bulk of his research investigated "Oshin" as an alternative history textbook, particularly in its portrayal of Japan's aggressive expansion into Korea and China, and the significance of various character names in the drama. Harvey's analysis paved way for a qualitative and contextual interpretation of Japanese television dramas.

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[52] Ibid., 59.

Problematizing feminist contribution and appropriation

Partly because women were typically the target audience of Japanese television dramas and partly because many programs have addressed and still address the roles of women in contemporary Japanese society, some researchers have employed feminist analysis in an attempt to understand Japanese women through the television representation. Harvey, for instance, pointed out that "Oshin" was an all-women production. It was the first NHK drama to be written (by Hashida Sugako) and produced by (Okamoto Yukiko) women based on the real life story of the founder of Yaohan Supermarket Chain, which has stores in Japan, New York and Los Angeles.[54] Other researchers, such as Midori Fukunishi Suzuki, wrote ferociously about the problems of gender stereotyping and the exploitation of women on television in Japan. She cited data from Forum for Citizen's Television (FCT), a media reform organization she co-founded in 1977,[55] to show that women were depicted as one-dimensional housekeepers and child rearers in programs and commercials.[56] Moreover, women were objectified in the increasing commercialization of sexuality on television. It is extremely important to acknowledge Suzuki, a staunch media reformer, for the work she put in to promote gender equality in Japan.[57] But her research, conducted in surveys and

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[53] Harvey, "Interpreting Oshin—War, History and Women in Modern Japan," 75.

[54] Shefner-Rogers et al., "Parasocial Interaction," 7.

[55] Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda, "Notes on Contributors" in *Japanese Women, New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future* (New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York, 1995), 420.

[56] Midori Fukunishi Suzuki, "Women and Television: Portrayal of Women in the Mass Media, " in *Japanese Women, New Feminist Perspectives on the Past, Present and Future*, ed. Kumiko Fujimura-Fanselow and Atsuko Kameda (New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York, 1995), 79.

[57] Although I disagree with Suzuki's research approach and assumption, I believe her co-founding of FCT in the late 1970s and being the organization's spokeswoman had impact on the condition of gender equality in Japan. In this post-feminist era, it is sometimes easy to dismiss what the feminist movement in the 60s and 70s had done for women today. Nan Robertson questioned whether the lawsuit female employees at the New York Times brought against the New York Times was worthwhile because a women once declared to her in 1980, "There is no sex discrimination at the Times...I got here on my own

content analyses, hardly permitted voice from the audience. For example, based on a 1986 survey conducted by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government that asked female residents whether they trusted television news and commercials, Suzuki said that most women watched television uncritically and indiscriminately because most of them answered “yes” or “I guess so.”[58] Once again, the conclusion was reached according to the questions asked. Without a description of either the social or cultural context, she seemed to have made a similar mistake by using survey results uncritically and indiscriminately.

Besides her faulty methodology, Suzuki imposed a Western feminist model on Japan without reviewing its applicability to different social and historical environments. Basically, Suzuki saw women’s movement in Japan as one step behind that in the United States and other Western countries. She cited a 1982 study by the National Institute of Mental Health on the increasing depiction of illicit love affairs on American television and concluded that “this trend came to Japan about five years later,” as if it was inevitable.[59] She also criticized Japan for lagging behind the United States, Canada, Australia and various European countries in bringing anti-discrimination policies to broadcasting stations.[60] Suzuki’s preoccupation with comparing Japan to Western countries led her to advocate legislation for an affirmative actions bill in Japan. But as we will soon find out from Andrew Painter’s study, the problem of gender discrimination in Japan, and in fact in other places as well, goes well beyond the power

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merits and I’m going to get ahead on my own merits.” We must have historical consciousness when dealing with a subject from a feminist, or any other, perspective. The feminists’ work should be viewed as an important task not just for the improvement of women’s living standards, but for the improvement of human beings. For the sex discrimination law suit against the New York Times, please see Nan Robertson, *The Girls In the Balcony*, (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1992), 212.

[58] Suzuki, “Women and Television: Portrayal of Women,” 77.

[59] Ibid., 81.

[60] Ibid., 84.

of legislation.

Andrew Painter's study on the telerepresentation of gender in Japan exposed, to a great extent, how gender discrimination ran its course at a workplace. He also showed, by deconstructing a drama, "Yome, Shuto, Kekkon Sodo" (Wife, Mother-in-Law, and Complicated Engagement), how the deep-rooted gender ideologies at the station became translated into the show.

At the production department of a major Osaka television station (which Painter called ZTV) where he conducted fieldwork for 19 months from 1988-1989,[61] Painter found that an essentialist perspective of gender prevailed in the workplace from top down. The ZTV president even expressed this view to Painter: "...basically, compared to men, women are less intelligent, they have less physical strength, even their bodily structures are different—that is the philosophy I hold to—but in order to show that the company president is not a male chauvinist, we are also hiring women. They are people too, after all."[62] Painted argued that the women employees at ZTV, who were in the minority and occupied significantly lower positions, dealt with discrimination in the organization by finding ways to subvert the hierarchies. The men, however, viewed those women who succeeded at ZTV as exceptions. For instance, Kiyomizu, a powerful and respected documentary producer and director, was first hired as an announcer. After her marriage, she was transferred into the news production department and greeted by a boss who told her that the department did not expect anything from her. Painter remarked that Kiyomizu's presence and intelligence and her success all "call into question much of what the company president and second in charge say about women workers."[63]

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[61] Andrew A. Painter, "The Telerepresentation of Gender in Japan," in *Re-Imaging Japanese Women*, ed. Anne E. Imamura, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 46.
[62] Ibid., 47.

Painter's most crucial contribution was that by critiquing the ZTV research databook, he revealed the process of audience making. He specifically challenged the concept of *shufu* (housewives), which was a strongly upheld audience category by the television researchers and program designers. To help advertisers locate and zero in on the characteristics of housewives, ZTV's research team published a databook in 1989, complete with six types of housewives that they thought exist in the Japanese society.[64] Painter argued that the audience models only revealed more about how men dominated women in everyday life in Japanese society, not just in a media organization.

Painter's fieldwork produced persuasive evidence showing sex discrimination and gender ideology at work in a media organization in Japan. However, his work was plagued by a lack of attention to the issue of positionality. On several occasions where he quoted a sexist remark uttered by a company official, who was always a man, he reminded us that the remark was made in a "man-to-man" situation. Such was how he got the ZTV president to share his "insight" on women's inferiority and a section chief to confide in him that the female employee who critiqued the outdated representations of women on television and the distorted notion about women audiences really did not know the business of television.[65] Painter seemed to imply that he was privileged to such information because he was male. Though he never said that he would not have been able to obtain the information if he were female, he never explicitly stated his positionality such as who he was speaking as, speaking for, or speaking with.[66] As a male, he had perhaps an unintended advantage of chatting man-to-man with the president, which was understandable as certain researchers would have better rapport with the interviewees depending on the situations. The issue Painter needed to clarify was how he could, on the one hand, be critical of the president and on the other hand, proclaim that the female workers found ways to deal with gender discrimination. He was in a vital position in which he could gain insight to the perspectives from both the male employers and female workers. The least he could do was to acknowledge the complexities in his own positionality in the research. Otherwise, while he was critical of the president's sexist remarks, I couldn't help but think that he was allowed in on the conversation because he was male. While he intended to speak for the disempowered female employees, he ended up siding with the upper male management by playing down the problem of gender discrimination.

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[63] Ibid., 49.

[64] According to the 1989 ZTV Data Book, housewives can be divided into 1)broad-minded, almighty, 2)liberated and diplomatic, 3) "women of the house," 4)witty and beautiful, 5)devoted and helpful, 6)tranquil and prudent types. See Ibid., 55.

[65] At a ZTV new employee training, a young woman in the programming division presented on the subject of "Why TV representations of women and ideas about female audiences are out of date." Painter said he was "impressed by her talk, but even more by the reaction of her fast-rising section chief, who smiled bemusedly and confided to me man-to-man that 'she really has no idea about the business side of

The issue at hand was not about Painter's identification with feminists but with feminist research. It was crucial that Painter positioned himself in the feminist scholarship because he chose a subject that concerned women's social and cultural positions. Virginia Olesen, citing Eichler, said that most feminist researchers, regardless of how they label themselves or approach feminist issues, share the outlook that "it is important to center and make problematic women's diverse situations and the institutions and frames that influence those situations, and then to refer the examination of that problematic to theoretical, policy, or action frameworks in the interest of

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television." See Ibid., 51.

[66] Derek Stanovsky, "Speaking As, Speaking For and Speaking With: The pitfalls and Possibilities of Men Teaching Feminism," *Feminist Teacher* 11, No. 1, 10-19.

realizing social justice for women."[67] By choosing to look at gender ideology and reaching the conclusion that women in Japan were casualty of a ubiquitous gender ideology, Painter has already entered the tradition of feminist research, whether he wanted to call himself a feminist or not.

It is suspicious how Painter never really told us which Osaka television station he was doing fieldwork at from February 1988 to August 1989. He used a generic "ZTV" to represent this station in "The Telerepresentation of Gender" and never told us the real identity of ZTV. Even in his other published article based on the same fieldwork, he revealed no more information than he did in this one.[68] By withholding the station's identity, Painter conveniently obscured the voices he heard from within the organization. The male sexist remarks became remote to the point of universality. As for the female voices, Painter simply "dubbed" them for the women in his study, interpreting them as small pockets of resistance in a male-dominated media organization. "Tami-chan made the office more pleasant by poking fun at the hierarchy that threatened to become too powerful...She would straight-facedly say to our bucho, [section chief], 'Domo arigato gozai mammosu' (roughly, 'Thank you very mammoth!'), hoping to get some reaction. Knowing he was outmatched, the boss usually just pretended he didn't notice her joking."[69] Why did Painter allow the male boss to speak for himself but assumed the power to speak for the women employees? The female employees never proclaimed that they were resisting male domination. Just because they found a way to deal with gender oppression did not mean that it was a form of resistance. Unless the female workers affirmed Painter's interpretation, it is inappropriate to believe that they have found a way to liberate themselves. Worst, could it be that not only were they not liberated at their workplace, they were even more incarcerated in Painter's words?

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[67] Virginia Olesen, "Feminisms and Models of Qualitative Research," in *The Landscape of Qualitative Research*, ed. Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 1998), 300.

[68] See footnote of Andrew A. Painter, "Japanese Daytime Television, Popular Culture, and Ideology," *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 19, No 2., 295.

Conclusion

In this literature review, I sought to present a critical view of the available English-language literature that dealt with various aspects of Japanese television dramas. In the discourse of Japanese television dramas, scholars and researchers have studied from a comparative perspective, positioning Japanese television programs against other Western programs. Such juxtaposition, as I have argued, ignores the specific historical, societal and cultural environments that have contributed to the production of Japanese television. Such depoliticized and dehistoricized symptoms were also symptoms of empirical studies based on surveys and content analyses. NHK, Japan's public broadcasting service, helped solidify such a scientistic research environment by setting up research institutes and publishing rigorously scheduled programming and audience surveys. Finally, I noted that feminist studies offer a more contextualized and holistic interpretation of Japanese television dramas, particularly when the researchers address the positionality issue.

Japanese television dramas, being the embodiment of cultural, historical and language forces of Japan, could be analyzed individually employing techniques of literary analysis. However, I would like to stress that each of the television dramas produced and aired on Japanese television has an enormous creative and cooperating

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[69] Painter, "Telerepresentation of Gender," 53.

force behind. My next step is to add the discussion of how the production and creative forces, namely, writers, producers, actors and actresses, impact the making of this discourse. I also plan on addressing the complicated media environment—Japanese literature, film and the commercial media ecology—that cultivated the people behind the dramas.

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TRANSNATIONAL JOURNALISM AND THE STORY OF AIDS/HIV: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WIRE SERVICE COVERAGE

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ABSTRACT

This study links two global phenomena, AIDS/HIV and transnational journalism, and treats them both as dependent variables that intertwine to generate global images of AIDS/HIV. Weaving the concepts of news framing and agenda-setting with global news flow literature, this extensive study analyses the AIDS/HIV news frames of five transnational wire services — the AP, Reuters, AFP, ITAR-TASS and IPS — for the period 1991 to 1997.

The strength of this study lies in its global scope. It addresses a global issue from a global platform. The findings have significant implications for journalists who cover the pandemic and for organizations involved in world wide AIDS prevention and policy efforts.

TRANSNATIONAL JOURNALISM AND THE STORY OF AIDS/HIV: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF WIRE SERVICE COVERAGE

Introduction

Journalists are chroniclers operating within sociological contexts. The manner in which they cover issues and events is rooted in historical traditions of journalistic practices and professional ideologies (Schudson, 1989; Berkowitz, 1997)). Although working Western journalists may vehemently reject such an embedded interpretation of their work as being divorced from the time-honored notions of objectivity and professional detachment, critical theorists would argue that those in positions to 'create' versions of 'reality' cannot help doing so despite alternate arguments.

This paper uses this critical argument to examine how the controversial sociomedical phenomenon of AIDS/HIV is framed by transnational wire services, the news leaders of the global news structure. It links two global phenomena, AIDS/HIV and transnational journalism, and treats both as dependent variables. From an agenda-setting perspective, it examines the vital public opinion and policy link between AIDS/HIV and the manner in which the pandemic is journalistically framed.

AIDS/HIV is a postmodern obfuscation. It is simultaneously global and local. It has no definite beginning or end (Grmek, 1990), and it challenges the modern notion of the invulnerability of biomedical science. AIDS disrupts comfortable boundaries of gender, race, sexuality and nationality and blurs the distinction between the first, second and third worlds. It questions the parameters of homosexuality and heterosexuality, and it renders permeable the superficially concocted dichotomy between the 'healthy Us' and the 'diseased Other' (Gilman, 1988). *AIDS/HIV is not simply a biomedical phenomenon.* Its trajectories intertwine sociocultural, political, economic, religious and ethical issues that raise myriad questions in the face of limited answers (Epstein, 1995; Brandt; 1988).

Despite our nebulous understanding of this twentieth century pandemic, certain facts are indisputable. AIDS/HIV, initially thought to be an affliction of the industrialized

West, has undergone a dramatic change in profile. The virus is now a "misery seeking missile" that is apparently stabilizing in countries that can afford research, prevention and treatment and escalating those that cannot. Roughly 90% of those living with AIDS/HIV currently reside in third word regions, specifically Sub-Saharan Africa, South and Southeast Asia, and Latin America (UNAIDS, 1997). Another fact that makes complacency in any part of the world a dangerous trend is that today's heightened human migration and travel patterns have increased the scope for the global spread of HIV. And the most resounding fact is that there is no cure for the virus. Prevention is the only known way to arrest its spread.

How are these facts and uncertainties chronicled by transnational journalism? What global level images of AIDS/HIV emerge from current coverage? Do transnational reporters have a social responsibility to capture the complexities of the pandemic? According to Nelkin (1987), most people understand issues that involve complex scientific dimensions "less through direct experience or past education than through the filter of journalistic language and imagery" (p. 2). Netter (1992) asserts that "although the mass media should not be expected to shoulder the responsibility for educating individuals, the public, and governments, . . . newspapers, magazines, newsletters, television and radio today provide a vital 'front line' in the global struggle against AIDS" (p. 242). On a policy note, Colby and Cook (1991) assert that, "The media identification and definition of public problems work not only on mass audiences. Policy makers are very attentive to news coverage. . . . The media's construction of AIDS thus has influenced not merely how we as individuals will react but also how we as a society and as a polity will respond" (p. 219).

Purpose and significance

The main objective of this study was to empirically analyze the AIDS/HIV news frames that currently dominate the arteries of the global 'newsnet' (Tuchman, 1978). The empirical findings were used as a base for interpreting the implications of current news images for the future sociomedical course of the pandemic.

Transnational wire services are agenda-setters in the global news hierarchy (Boyd-Barrett, 1980; Alleyne, 1995). They gather and disseminate news at a basic global level. Various prestige media/institutions around the world pick up their content on a regular basis. Through this filtered route, the global elite and decision-makers are reached. Therefore, the manner in which these wires cover international issues (such as AIDS/HIV) is likely to make a collective impression on the "international information elite" (Read, 1976). This community of influential people, in turn, are catalysts in the policy-making process at local, regional and global levels. The linkage is multilayered yet valid (Merrill, 1990; O'Heffernan, 1994).

The four transnational wire leaders — the Associated Press (AP), Reuters, Agence France Presse (AFP) and Telegrafnoye Agenstvo Sovetskovo Soyuza (now known as ITAR-TASS) — were selected for study. Inter Press Service (IPS), an alternate wire service that focuses on news geared toward the concerns of the developing world, was also selected for comparison. A detailed content analysis of AIDS/HIV coverage in the current decade was conducted. The content analysis specifically focused on the dominant frames (themes), the dominant newsmakers (sources and actors), and the amount of emphasis (or deemphasis) given to various world regions. Comparisons were made mainly between the wires and between developing and developed world regions.

The significance of this study lies in its global scope. It addresses a global issue from a global platform. The extensive literature review did not reveal any study that has empirically examined the coverage of AIDS/HIV from a global as opposed to a national perspective. Second, due to the difficulty often experienced in obtaining wire service files, few studies up to date have examined their content (Boyd-Barrett, 1980). Third, the findings of this study have significant implications in the AIDS/HIV global policy arena, especially for organizations involved in world wide prevention efforts.

Literature Review

News as a dependent variable

Newsmaking is a human and social activity. It is impacted by numerous variables. Addressing the forces that shape news content, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) present a hierarchical model that explicates five levels of influence that equate and interact to produce news content — the individual level, the media routine level, the organizational level, the extramedia level, and the ideological level.

At the individual level, Shoemaker and Reese posit that certain characteristics "intrinsic" to the journalist (such as values and ethics, personal world view, political and religious beliefs, race, gender, ethnicity and so forth) influence their work. For instance, when the AIDS epidemic was in its early phase of ambiguity and social stigmatization, the journalists who ventured to cover this morally charged issue were those with some level of personal involvement (Shilts, 1987).

The second level of influence encompasses the established routines and practices of the news profession. Examples include pack news tendencies, regular beats, the propensity to routinely approach 'authoritative' or 'official ' sources (Gans, 1979), gatekeeping procedures, time and space constraints, distribution of resources and personnel, and so forth. The third tier of influence operates at the organizational level. News organizations have clear boundaries defined by structure, policies and organizational objectives that lead to the professional conditioning of journalists. These organizational level influences function as molding factors.

The fourth level of influence includes extramedia or non-newsroom forces such as the public relations efforts of various groups, circulation and ratings, sources of revenue (advertising or government), intermedia influences, laws and regulations and the significant impact of new communication technologies. The nature of the issue is also an extramedia factor . Some issues are obtrusive while others are not. Immediate or obtrusive issues such as crime and unemployment are personal for many people while latent issues such as global warming and AIDS are distant. According to Zucker's (1978) study of obtrusive and unobtrusive issues, the agenda-setting impact is higher for the latter.

The fifth level, that of ideology, is perhaps the most abstract and yet the most intrinsic level of influence. News organizations are ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1971) that operate within the ideological currents of specific political systems (capitalist, socialist, communist). According to Herman and Chomsky (1988), the media assist in maintaining and reaffirming ideology through a hegemonic process.

Shoemaker and Reese posit that these five tiers of influence continuously combine to give rise to on-going news frames. According to Gitlin (1980), news frames ". . . organize the world for journalists who report it, and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports." He defines news frames as ". . . persistent patterns [illegible] cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, b[illegible]hich symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (p. 7).

News frames give us particular renditions of events and issues t[illegible]urn, define what is 'normal' or legitimate and what is 'deviant.' Frames that emerge [illegible]minant over time carry significant implications for public opinion, cultural interpretati[illegible] and policy outcomes (Entman, 1991). For instance, disease coverage already has historically delineated frames in place — those of victimization, deviance, blame attribution and the power of modern medicine to ultimately develop a cure (Crimp, 1988; Gilman, 1988). Such contexts are built narratively over time and they provide journalists with thematic templates to accomplish their everyday reporting.

There is a significant link between the concept of news framing and the agenda-setting characteristics of the news media. As McCombs (1993), lead author of the pioneering agenda-setting study of 1972, pointed out after two decades of reconceptualization, "Agenda-setting is considerably more than the classical assertion that the news tells us *what to think about*. The news also tells us *how to think about it*. . . .

Employing the concept of framing to talk about the rich variance of attribute agendas will contribute to the integration of communication research" (emphasis in original, pp. 62, 65).

The politics of transnational news flow

The agenda-setting concept also lies at the heart of the transnational news structure. In fact, any examination of how transnational journalism frames a specific issue cannot be separated from a contextual understanding of transnational news flow politics, structures and pertinent news shaping forces.

The Western-based wire services occupy positions of power at the apex of the global news hierarchy. These wire service leaders, namely the AP, Reuters, AFP and ITAR-TASS, are the most powerful players within the structure in terms of magnitude of operations, reach, credibility, financial stability and communication and personnel infrastructure. From these vantage points, they play an agenda-setting role in the following ways (Boyd-Barrett, 1980):

1. They determine on a daily basis what is considered newsworthy on a global scale.
2. The amount of coverage they devote to particular issues and events heighten or lessen their importance at subsequent gatekeeping levels.
3. The top-down filtering process results in a one-way transmission of news values and codes.

These leading wire services account for about 80% of global news flow content. Although each wire tends to have its specific geographic strengths, their combined reach is vast. According to Samarajiwa (1984), the stories covered by these wires provide a global level "alert" that something is newsworthy. "It is at this level that events are made into news; events that do not become news at this stage rarely if ever constitute news at other levels" (Samarajiwa, 1984, p. 121).

The New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) debate of the late 1970s and early 1980s questioned the disparities caused by the dominant position of these wire services. Scholars and journalists from various parts of the world sparred with each other over the definition and functions of news. The debate resulted in a deadlock of sorts, and the contention remains that ". . those in power are those who can determine the very definition of news. Power also rests with those whose voices are heard the most" (Alleyne, 1995, p. 69).

A survey of international news flow studies, mostly content analyses, shows that the news media of the developed West (including wire services) have a tendency to cover mainly conflict and crisis news from developing countries (Weaver and Wilhoit, 1983; Riffe and Shaw, 1982). Studies also show that the industrialized West tends to receive the lion's share of overall coverage (Giffard, 1987; Potter, 1987; Chang and Lee, 1992; Riffe, 1993). Some world regions such as the African continent and Latin America remain invisible. Unless they are the focus of some spectacular event or trend, they fail to spark the general interest of the Western news world (Richstadt and Anderson, 1981).

A caveat. Although the leading wire services operate as agenda-setters at a global level, they are not immune to the intramedia and extramedia forces that shape news content (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). They are simultaneously agenda-setters and yet vulnerable to the multilevel forces of social construction acting upon them.

AIDS/HIV news frames

No empirical research that examines how global AIDS is covered at a global level has been conducted so far. Several studies explore how the U.S. media and some Western European countries cover the pandemic; however, very few studies examine coverage in third world countries.

The news media serve as a contesting ground upon which many battles for signification are played out by stakeholders in the AIDS/HIV pandemic (Treichler, 1988). The voices of various claim-makers (Best, 1989) have emerged and subsided through the years leading to a continuous ebb and flow of AIDS news frames. The initial representation of AIDS/HIV was framed in terms of the boundary between the healthy "Us" and the diseased "Other" (Gilman, 1988). Early coverage was scant and media agenda-setters such as the *New York Times* and leading wire service paid little attention to the 'new' virus (Kinsella, 1989). Critics (Shilts, 1987; Kinsella, 1989) argue that these leading new organizations assumed that a 'gay' disease was not newsworthy enough for the mainstream public. In a study of AIDS coverage in national U.S. magazines for the period 1982 to 1984, Albert (1986) found that readers were distanced from the 'deviant' and the diseased, and that "it was the deviant character of the victims rather than the problematic aspects of the illness itself that characterized media treatment" (p. 135).

The rhetoric of blame attribution also found its way into the arteries of global news (Sabatier, 1988). The African press retaliated against the Western press' implications that the virus originated in that continent; France and Germany pointed fingers at the United States; the United States looked hard at Haiti; and the former Soviet Union suggested that the virus had been created by American intelligence units as a means of biological warfare (Gilman, 1988). Public spokespersons for China, India, Indonesia, Thailand and Japan claimed that HIV had been imported into their countries through contact with Westerners (Sontag, 1989; Bonacci, 1992).

As the decade drew on, advances in research began to gradually gnaw at the 'Us-Other' myth. The event that finally spilled the virus into the mainstream was the revelation that Hollywood star Rock Hudson was living with AIDS. The fact that Hudson's sexual history placed him in a so-called risk group was not enough to allay popular fears. Large scale "border anxiety" (Young, 1990) invaded public consciousness, and the heterosexual scare led then President Ronald Reagan to make his first public speech about AIDS (Kinsella, 1989).

This event tripled the coverage of AIDS/HIV in the United States and received generous coverage in the global press. The surge in AIDS news coverage in the U.S. mainstream press is recorded convincingly by an extensive content analysis conducted by the Princeton Survey Research Associates (1996). Other scholars noted similar results (Nelkin, 1991; Rogers, Dearing and Chang, 1991; Netter, 1992). A significant observation was that the dramatic rise in coverage in the latter half of the 1980s was not spurred by any proportional changes in the AIDS/HIV statistics. Rather, social, political and cultural forces played a more significant role in determining the newsworthiness of the issue.

According to McAllister (1992), the heterosexual threat of AIDS/HIV eased public discourse and news narratives into frames of 'normalization' and 'medicalization.' Once the threat was perceived as universal, the rhetoric took on urgent scientific overtones — the need to find a biomedical 'cure.' The 'normalization' of the discourse led to more informative and sympathetic treatment and coverage by the news media and the popular arts (Princeton Survey Research Associates, 1996; Sturken, 1997). Hopes for a biomedical miracle, however, pervaded the coverage. Federal health officials remained the main spokespersons for the epidemic followed by private groups and research physicians. According to a study of AIDS coverage by the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *Los Angeles Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* for the period 1983 to 1989, 90% of the stories were drawn from mainstream medical publications and conferences (Walters and Walters, 1996). According to Watts' (1993) study of the coverage of AIDS by mainstream U.S. news media, the quest for a scientific cure emerged as the main frame, and official scientists and biomedical researchers were the agenda-setting sources for reporters. Alternative voices and perceptions were found only in alternative publications (McAllister, 1990).

The AIDS/HIV narrative is an on-going one for the global press. The current decade has witnessed a great reduction in the volume of stories. According to a *New York Newsday* reporter at a 1994 convention in Atlanta, "You have to work harder when you're selling an AIDS story, because it's been around for so long. Editors will tell you they're tired of hearing it" (Hernandez, 1994). The coverage has become routinized, and it is occasionally revived in a knee-jerk fashion by the odd celebrity story, scandal angle and hope-inducing innovations in biomedical treatment procedures.

There is concern among critics about the sense of complacency that seems to have overtaken the Western news media giving the fallacious impression that the pandemic is on the downslide (Sepulveda, Fineberg and Mann, 1992). Meanwhile, despite the need for new angles, the mainstream global press remains deafeningly silent about the conditions that prevail in the world regions most ravaged by AIDS/HIV (Princeton Survey Research Associates, 1996; Bardhan, 1996, 1998).

Studies of AIDS/HIV news narratives generated by countries outside the U.S. are scant. The few inquiries that do exist examine the Australian (Lupton, 1993), Canadian (Clarke, 1992), Portugal (Traquina, 1996), French, German and British (Grube and Boehme-Deurr, 1989; Semetko and Goldberg, 1993), Euro-African (Lester, 1992), Ugandan (Netter, 1992), Thai, Filipino and Japanese (Netter, 1992), and Malaysian (Lim, 1995) news narratives. A majority of these narratives exhibit frames and patterns similar to those demonstrated by the U.S. press.

Research questions and hypotheses

The following were the main research questions posed for this study:

R1 What are the dominant news frames of AIDS/HIV that emerge from the coverage of the AP, AFP, Reuters, ITAR-TASS and IPS?

R2 Do the dominant frames differ between the wires?

R3 Who are the dominant newsmakers (actors and sources) who shape the global AIDS story as covered by the AP, AFP, Reuters, ITAR-TASS and IPS?

R4 Do these dominant newsmakers differ between the wires?

R5 Overall, are there any major differences in the way developed and developing world regions are framed in the AIDS/HIV wire narratives?

R6 Do the wires differ in how they cover AIDS/HIV in developed and developing world regions?

The following hypothesis were developed from the literature review:

H1 The biomedical AIDS/HIV news frame will be dominant in the coverage by the AP, AFP, Reuters, ITAR-TASS but not in IPS' coverage. Overall, the prevention and education news frame will receive marginal emphasis.

H2 IPS' coverage will emphasize global, human rights, socioeconomic and policy issues more often than the AP, AFP, Reuters and ITAR-TASS.

H3 Overall, biomedical researchers, scientists and policy players will be the dominant newsmakers who shape the coverage.

H4 Overall, alternate newsmakers will be increasingly featured.

H5 Overall, the developed world will receive more coverage than the developing world.

H6 The AP, AFP, Reuters and ITAR-TASS will focus more on the developed world while the IPS will focus more on the developing world.

H7 The overall volume of coverage will gradually decrease (from 1991 to 1997).

Method

This study used content analysis to identify dominant AIDS/HIV frames in the manifest news content of the Associated Press (AP), Reuters, Agence France Presse (AFP), Telegrafnoye Agenstvo Sovetskovo Soyuza (ITAR-TASS) and Inter Press Service (IPS). Content analysis is specially useful for tracking trends and frames in media content. It also provides results that can serve as the "basis" for examining media impact (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996).

Sample and procedure

A systematic random sample was obtained from the universe of AIDS/HIV stories produced by the five wire services between May 1991 and May 1997 (both months included). The current decade was selected because several empirical studies of coverage in the 1980s have been conducted, however, very few studies examine the 1990s. Full texts of all the stories in the sample were downloaded from the on-line LEXIS-NEXIS news and information database service. The words 'acquired immune deficiency syndrome or HIV' were used to search for relevant stories (note). With a random starting point, every fifth story in the universe was selected in order to obtain a 20% sample. The story was the unit of analysis.

A total of 635 stories made up the sample. Following is the breakdown of these stories according to wire services.

Reuters	287 stories
AFP	155 stories
AP	78 stories
ITAR-TASS	34 stories
IPS	81 stories
Total (N)	635 stories

Coding categories and their operational definitions

Detailed coding categories were developed. The recent Princeton Survey Research Associates (1996) content analysis of AIDS/HIV coverage by the U.S. news media guided the formation of some of the categories. The world region category was guided by the Mayo and Pasadeos (1991) study of the international focus of U.S. business magazines (see Appendix A for operational definitions).

Intercoder reliability and statistical measurements

The author and two other trained coders simultaneously coded approximately five percent (30 random stories) of the sample. Item-by-item percentage agreements were calculated to detect major disagreements. The average percentage agreement for all the coding categories combined was 88%. The lowest percentage agreement was 80% (secondary frames category) and the highest percentage agreement was 100% (for purely quantitative and non-interpretive categories such as date, year, agency name, etc.).

The data generated was analyzed through computations of frequency distributions, cross tabulations, rank correlations and linkage analyses. Chi-squares were computed to test the significance of the results. The level of significance selected was 0.05.

Results

Overall, four of the seven hypotheses were fully supported, two were partially supported, and one was not supported. High levels of significance were recorded for most of the tabulated data.

AIDS/HIV news frames

The 'Medical/scientific' AIDS/HIV frame was not dominant in the coverage of any of the five wires (see Table 1). It was most prominent in Reuters' coverage (25%) followed by the AP (23%), AFP (19%), ITAR-TASS (18%) and IPS (6%). Reuters and the AP devoted nearly one-fourth of their individual coverage to this frame. This represents a high percentage for a single frame given 10 other competing frames.

Insert Table 1 here.

The study also coded for secondary frames. At this level, the 'Medical/scientific' frame was prominent in only 5.7% of all the stories combined.

Table 2 examines the break down of the overall emphasis given to each news frame developed for this study.

Insert Table 2 here.

An important observation, evident from Table 2, was that the 'Medical/scientific' frame tied in emphasis with the socioeconomic frame (20.5% of the stories each). Other interesting observations included the relatively high emphasis on the 'Policy/legal' (16.1%) and 'Human rights/ethics' (14.3%) aspects of AIDS/HIV. The emphasis on 'Prevention/education' (6.6%), as predicted, was marginal.

The 'Prevention/education' focus was more prominent at the secondary frame (12.1% of the stories) level. Also, 'Policy/legal' aspects of the pandemic received most emphasis (20.9%) at this level.

Hypothesis 1 was partially supported. IPS did not demonstrate a dominant 'Medical/scientific' focus in its coverage, however, nor did any of the other four wire services. Overall, the 'Prevention/education' frame was marginal for all the wires combined. Significance was achieved at the 0.01 level.

The data in Table 3 show that the socioeconomic, policy, global and human rights AIDS/HIV news frames combined were dominant in the IPS' coverage (73%). In addition, they were also marginally dominant overall and in the coverage of each of the other wires except ITAR-TASS.

Insert Table 3 here.

For the secondary frames coded, these four frames combined were once again marginally dominant for every wire except ITAR-TASS. These results partially supported Hypothesis 2. Significance at the 0.001 level was obtained for the data in Table 3.

A cross-tabulation of the main world regions coded provided a macro-level picture of how each world region was mostly framed (see Table 4). The biomedical frame was most prominent (30.4%) in the coverage of developed regions and least prominent (7.2%) in the coverage of developing regions. The opposite was true for the socioeconomic frame. This frame was most prominent (38.9%) in the coverage of developing regions and least prominent in the coverage of the developed regions.

Insert Table 4 here.

Developed regions also received the most 'Human rights/ethics' related coverage (21.2%) while for the developing regions, this frame was prominent in only 7.2% of the stories. Little difference was noted between these regions for the 'Policy/legal' frame. Another interesting observation was that AIDS/HIV was framed as a developing country problem, as a globally interrelated phenomenon and in terms of 'Prevention/education' mostly when the story focused on the world in general and on matters related to the United Nations. These frames were least evident when the coverage focused on developed regions.

Overall, for all the regions combined, AIDS/HIV was framed mainly as a biomedical and socioeconomic issue followed by a policy emphasis.

In addition, a correlation matrix was constructed to identify overall similarities and differences between the five wires in their framing of the pandemic (see Table 5) . This enabled a cross-comparison between the five wire services. Cross-wire rank orders were first calculated for the main frame categories. Spearman's rank order correlations were computed between the wires, and clusters were identified in the resultant matrix through linkage analyses.

One main cluster comprising Reuters, AFP and the AP emerged from the data in Table 5. With regard to the manner in which the wires framed AIDS/HIV news stories, Reuters and AFP were most similar to each other and the AP was more similar to AFP than Reuters. Additionally, IPS was more similar to AFP than any of the other wires. ITAR-TASS was not similar to any of the other wires.

Insert Table 5 here.

The similarity between Reuters and AFP was evident in the nearly equal emphasis both gave to all the frames except those characterizing policy, 'AIDS-as-a-developing-country-problem' and 'Human rights/ethics.' Reuters gave more emphasis than AFP to the policy frame while AFP gave more emphasis than Reuters to the latter two frames. The AP was more similar to AFP than Reuters because of its similar emphasis on all frames, especially 'Human rights/ethics.' The AP, however, had a higher emphasis on celebrities than Reuters and AFP. It had a lower emphasis on the policy frame compared to the other two wires. IPS was closest to AFP in its emphasis on the various frames, especially the policy frame. ITAR-TASS was different from all the other wires in its emphases on the various frames.

AIDS/HIV newsmakers

Data in Table 6 clearly show that biomedical sources, researchers and policy players dominated as sources and actors for all five wires combined. Roughly three quarters (74.6%) of the coverage focused on these newsmakers.

Insert Table 6 here.

Secondary newsmakers were coded for all the stories examined. Even at this level, these sources and actors dominated (32.3%) over all the other types of newsmakers combined (20.3%). At the secondary newsmaker level, however, nearly half (47.4%) of all the stories had 'Other/none' newsmakers.

These results clearly supported Hypothesis 3. Significance was obtained at the 0.001 level.

The distribution of 'official' and alternate newsmakers remained quite similar for the period studied (see Table 7). The former were dominant spokespersons for the global pandemic (between 78.6% and 81.3% of the stories). The alternate newsmakers were prominent in only 18.7% to 21.4% of the coverage. However, significance at the 0.05 level was not achieved for these results.

Insert Table 7 here.

This pattern was repeated at the secondary newsmaker level. 'Official' newsmakers dominated the narrative (between 34.7% and 43.6% of the stories) while alternate newsmakers were prominent in 14.2% to 17.6% of the stories. Approximately half the sample had 'Other/none' newsmakers at the secondary level.

Hence, no marked increase was noted in the use of alternate AIDS/HIV newsmakers between 1991 and 1997. Hypothesis 4 was not supported by these results.

Note: When examined individually, activists and similar groups, people living with AIDS/HIV and their friends and families did gain slight ground as sources and actors from 1991 to 1997.

A linkage analysis indicated two distinct clusters (see Table 8). The first included Reuters, AFP and the AP, and the second cluster comprised ITAR-TASS, the AP and IPS. Reuters and AFP were once again very similar to each other and the AP was slightly more similar to Reuters than to AFP. In fact, the AP was equally similar to Reuters and ITAR-TASS. IPS was very similar to ITAR-TASS and the latter was nearly equally similar to Reuters and AFP.

Insert Table 8 here.

Both Reuters and AFP gave most and very similar emphasis to policy players followed by scientists, researchers and medical sources. The AP gave more emphasis to people living with AIDS/HIV, activists and celebrities than Reuters and AFP. The AP was also very similar to ITAR-TASS in the amount of emphasis it gave to scientists, researchers, medical sources, activists and people living with AIDS. IPS was most similar to ITAR-TASS in its use of sources. The only marked difference was that IPS gave more emphasis to activists and similar organizations than ITAR-TASS. The latter was similar to Reuters and AFP in the amount of emphasis it gave to scientists, researchers, medical sources, policy players and people living with AIDS.

AIDS/HIV world news map

Clearly (see Table 9) more coverage (52.5%) was accorded to the developed world regions in the overall coverage of global AIDS/HIV by the five wires. AIDS/HIV in developing regions was covered in 32.8 % of all the wire stories. The coverage of AIDS as a globally interrelated phenomenon was low (5.6%), and the former Eastern Bloc, North Africa and the Middle East combined received only 8.8% of the overall coverage.

Insert Table 9 here.

The study also coded for secondary regions wherein the developed world once again received the most coverage (19.7% of the stories) compared to other world regions. The developing regions were the secondary focus in only 9% of the stories. The coverage of AIDS as a globally interrelated phenomenon was slightly higher at 13%. The majority (56.5%) of the stories had an 'Other/none' focus.

Hypothesis 5 was clearly supported. All five wires combined focused most on developed world regions for stories on AIDS/HIV. Significance at the 0.001 level was achieved for the data in Table 9.

Since IPS openly declares its developing world agenda, a comparison was made between its AIDS/HIV coverage of various world regions with that of the other four wires (see Table 10). IPS covered AIDS/HIV from a developing country perspective in 84% of its stories (compared to 25.3% for the other four wires combined). Only 7.4% of its stories focused on AIDS in developed regions. IPS' focus on AIDS/HIV as a globally interrelated phenomenon was low (7.4%), as was its coverage of AIDS in North Africa, the Middle East and the former Eastern Bloc (1.2%).

Insert Table 10 here.

At the secondary region level, IPS focused more on developed (17.3%) than developing regions (5%). Also, 23.5% of its stories had a secondary focus of AIDS as a globally interrelated phenomenon and more than 50% of the stories had an 'Other/none' focus.

These results clearly supported Hypothesis 6. IPS demonstrated a purposive focus on developing countries throughout its coverage of AIDS/HIV. However, with a dominant focus on the AIDS situation in Sub-Saharan Africa followed by Latin and Central America and the Caribbean, IPS ignored the pandemic in some other developing regions. Significance at the 0.001 level was achieved for the data in table 10.

A linkage analysis (see Table 11) indicated one cluster that shows that Reuters and AFP were once again very similar. No other significant clusters are evident in this table.

Insert Table 11 here.

The similarity between Reuters and AFP was evident in the amount of coverage they both devoted to all world regions except North America and Developed Asia. Compared to Reuters, AFP focused less on North America and more on Developed Asia.

Decline in coverage

As is evident from the data in Tables 12 and 13, there was a 16% increase in the AIDS/HIV news volume from 1991 to 1992. A 23% drop was noted from 1992 to 1993 followed by two consecutive 16% drops in 1994 and 1995. A 22% drop was noted in 1996, and the largest decline in volume was from 1996 to 1997 (61%). The year of maximum coverage (22.7%) was 1992 while 1997 was the year of minimum coverage (3.8%).

Reuters had the maximum number of stories in the sample (287) followed by AFP (155), IPS (81), the AP (78) and ITAR-TASS (34).

Insert Tables 12 and 13 here.

Hypothesis 7 was fully supported. Overall, the volume of AIDS/HIV coverage by the wires declined at an increasing rate from 1991 to 1997. Significance at the 0.001 level was achieved for the data in Table 12.

Discussion and conclusion

The powerful news organization of the world lead the way in shaping global issues. The findings of this study amply demonstrate this thesis. The AIDS/HIV coverage of the AP, Reuters, and AFP combined emerged as dominant and almost unified in terms of frames (themes), newsmakers (voices privileged) and geographic focus. IPS and ITAR-TASS projected some alternative renditions; however, these were mitigated by the preponderance of the former.

Overall, the global AIDS/HIV story seems to have moved slightly beyond the biomedical frame of the late 1980s. Although this frame remains prominent, the coverage also emphasizes the socioeconomic, cultural, policy, human rights and ethical aspects of the pandemic. The portrayal of AIDS, or people living with AIDS as deviant has decreased considerably. On the down side, the projection of AIDS as a globally interrelated phenomenon and the need for prevention and education lacks emphasis. The AIDS situation in developing countries is framed mostly in socioeconomic terms while developed regions are framed mostly in biomedical terms.

Reuters, AFP and the AP are most similar to each other in their framing [illegible] global AIDS/HIV. Their main frames are the biomedical, socioeconomic, policy, ethics and human rights frames. Coverage by ITAR-TASS is distinguished by its more limited projection of world wide AIDS. It is also unique in its overwhelming emphasis on state-related 'official' images of the pandemic. IPS provides the most culturally sensitive, diverse and analytical coverage of the pandemic among the wires examined.

The main newsmakers have also changed along with the slight shift away from the biomedical frame. Policy players have gained ground as agenda-builders for the coverage. Although they have not made any significant inroads, alternate or 'unaffiliated' sources and actors such as activists and people living with AIDS/HIV have also become slightly more visible. Biomedical sources and researchers, however, remain prominent newsmakers. Overall, 'official' newsmakers overwhelmingly dominate the coverage. Reuters and AFP rely most on 'official' newsmakers such as policy players, scientists and biomedical researchers. Although the AP and ITAR-TASS also use these sources extensively, they are more diverse in their use of alternate sources. IPS is most diverse in the employment of alternate actors and sources.

AIDS is not framed as primarily a problem of developing countries. At the same time, developing countries receive only about one-fourth of the overall wire service coverage. Although statistics report that AIDS/HIV is taking its worst toll in the developing world (Mann, 1995), the wires tend to cover the pandemic from the perspective of the developed world. Certain world regions such as North Africa, the Middle East, Latin America and the former Eastern Bloc (with the exception of coverage by ITAR-TASS) remain almost invisible. Sub-Saharan Africa consistently remains high on the agendas of all five wires. Reuters, AFP and the AP focus mainly on the developed world. Although ITAR-TASS focuses mainly on Russia and the former Eastern Bloc, it gives more coverage to the developing world as compared to the developed world. IPS focuses mainly on the developing world to the extent that it practically ignores AIDS in the rest of the world.

The definite and steady decline in the volume of coverage in the 1990s lends support to the argument that the AIDS story is no longer a newsroom attention-getter. The coverage has settled into a predictable routine and is more reactive than proactive. Passive description dominates over active debate about the future of the pandemic.

Implications of findings for the global course of AIDS/HIV

Four of the most disconcerting (yet predictable) findings of this study are:

a) The consistent lack of emphasis on prevention and education, the only known means of stemming the spread of HIV.

b) An inordinate focus on the AIDS/HIV concerns of the developed world when the pandemic is taking its heaviest toll in the developing world.

c) The absence of a sense of comprehension or projection of the globally interrelated nature of AIDS/HIV where disease in one part of the world translates into disease in other parts.

d) A significant decline in the volume of coverage.

Michael Merson, director of the World Health Organization's Global Programme on AIDS from 1990 to 1995 and current dean of public health at Yale University, expresses concern over the fact that the AIDS news narrative of the 1990s focuses on cure and treatment at the expense of prevention and education themes (telephone interview, April 22, 1998). He emphasizes that although the biomedical focus is legitimate, prevention should be equally newsworthy, if not more. By way of strategy he suggests that more interaction is needed between reporters, editors and those working on prevention world wide.

The propensity of the wires to devote more attention to the AIDS/HIV agendas and concerns of the developed West is an unfortunate commentary on their lack of initiative in covering the complexities of the pandemic in the most hard-hit areas of the world. Although Sub-Saharan Africa receives a lot of attention, simply focusing on the continent initially blamed for the origination of HIV serves to further exacerbate destructive stereotypes. In today's global landscape, developed and developing regions are interdependent in many areas including the spread of disease and infection. This perspective fails to emerge from current coverage. In addition, the decline in the volume of coverage sends a misleading message of complacency to the public and policy makers.

The AIDS/HIV news frames currently generated by global journalism are divorced from several urgent aspects of the pandemic. The aim of this study is not to delegitimize the aspects of AIDS/HIV that routinely receive global press attention. Instead, its intention is to emphasize the other equally legitimate aspects that are being missed by the global press. Oversimplified frames, it may be argued, pose hurdles in the way of effectively conceptualizing, coordinating funding and implementing focused AIDS/HIV programs and policies. In addition, they marginalize the voices that are qualified to speak from within the pandemic.

The findings of this and other similar studies could be used strategically by organizations and groups that are involved in prevention, education and human rights efforts at various levels. By demanding accountability from the news media, aggressively pointing out the shortcomings of current coverage, and devising ways to promote alternate agendas, there is a possibility that the AIDS story may be revived in all its complexity.

Suggestions for future research

Future studies in this area could analyze how the local news media of developing countries cover AIDS/HIV and to what extent they depend on transnational wires for AIDS-related content. The exploration of this phenomenon would further clarify the extent of the linkage between global coverage and local use. More research is also needed to explore the impact of news images on AIDS/HIV policy-makers. In conclusion, research needs to continuously address the disparities that characterize the global news structure. Questioning news content is futile unless we also question the organizational apparatuses that generate content.

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Appendix A

Operational definitions of coding categories

1. Case number. 2. Date story filed. 3. Year story filed.

4. Agency name: Reuters, AFP, AP, ITAR-TASS or IPS.

5. Dateline/Country: Name of country from which story was filed.

6. Dateline/World region: World region to which this country belongs. The choices available were:

   North America (United States and Canada); Central America and the Caribbean; Latin America; Western Europe (including Turkey and Greece); Eastern Europe; Russia and former Soviet republic; China; the Middle East; North Africa Sub-Saharan Africa (including South Africa); Developing Asia (mostly South and some Southeast Asia); Developed Asia (mostly East and Southeast Asia); Oceania (Australia, New Zealand and other Pacific Islands); Global; UN and other similar global organizations; Other/None

7. Dateline/Developed or developing country: The coder was required to categorize the country as a developed or developing country. The Human Development Index for various countries, as compiled by the United Nations Development Program in 1992, was used to make this decision. This index combines life expectancy, literacy, educational attainment and income/buying power into one measure. The scale ranges from 0 to 1. All countries falling below 0.5 were categorized as 'Developing' and those above this point were categorized as 'Developed.' If an index for a country was not available, the choice "Not Available" was entered.

8. Main world region represented in story: The volume of the story devoted to a region offered main guidance, however, critical (in a more conversational rather than philosophical sense) textual analysis was also used. For instance, where the bulk of the story did not mention a region but the context and linguistic elements indicated a definite focus on it, the region was coded as the main one. The choices available were the same as those in category 6.

9. Secondary world region represented in story: Same guidelines as above.

10. Main frame of story: This and the next category depended more on the coder's critical (once again, in a more conversational sense) interpretation. The main guideline was the volume of the story devoted to a frame, the sources used and the actors featured. However, in case these elements were not enough to indicate dominance and yet the linguistic and tonal elements emphasized a frame, this frame was coded as dominant. The following frames were available as choices:

AIDS as deviant: This frame was applied when the story described people with AIDS as the diseased 'Other,' when risk-groups were emphasized, moral judgments were made, blame was attributed or any other form of discrimination (or fear-based reporting) was evident.

Medical/Scientific: This frame was applied when the obvious focus of the story was biomedical research and a 'search for a cure.'

Socioeconomic/Political/Cultural/Religious: This frame was applied when the story focused on the socioeconomic, political (including development), cultural or religious aspects and impacts of the pandemic.

Policy/Legal: This frame was applied when the main theme of the story concerned policy or legal issues related to AIDS/HIV.

AIDS-as-a-developing-country-problem: This frame was applied when the story mainly dealt with AIDS as a scourge of the developing world.

Global cooperation/Interdependence/Assistance: This frame was applied when the story mainly treated AIDS/HIV as a pandemic calling for global cooperation and action or if it dealt with reports of global assistance and interdependence.

Celebrity AIDS: This frame was applied when the obvious focus of the story was a celebrity(ies) or public figure(s) connected with AIDS/HIV (it could be that a celebrity had AIDS or that the celebrity was involved in AIDS charity or benefit work).

Prevention/Education: This frame was applied when the focus of the story was prevention or behavior change through education, awareness, persuasion and information dissemination.

Routine: This frame was applied when routine statistics, polling data or other such information made up the bulk of the story.

Human rights/Ethics: This frame was applied when the main focus of the story was human rights issues such as the ethics of vaccine trials, mandatory testing, insurance discrimination, etc.

Other: The story was coded as other when no decision was possible.

11. Secondary frame of story: Same guidelines and frames as above.

12. Principal newsmaker: This category required the coder to determine which sources and actors dominated the story. The volume of the story devoted to particular sources and actors guided this decision. Actors are people featured in the story while sources are people who are quoted in the story. The choices available were:

Scientists/researchers (medical and other such as behavioral)/medical; Policy players (politicians, administrators, judiciary, professional and international organizations); Corporate (such as pharmaceutical, insurance, etc., and other such companies); People with AIDS and their friends and families; Activists or other similar groups and social organizations; Celebrities or public figures; Alternative medicine spokespersons; Other/None

The first three choices represent 'official' newsmakers while the rest represent 'unofficial' newsmakers.

13. Secondary newsmaker (if any): Same guidelines and choices as above.

Appendix B

Tables

Table 1
Cross-comparison between wires in their emphases on the AIDS/HIV biomedical news frame

	Reuters	AFP	AP	ITAR-TASS	IPS	TOTAL
Medical/ scientific	72 (25%)	29 (19%)	18 (23%)	6 (18%)	5 (6%)	130 (20.5%)
Other frames combined*	215 (75%)	126 (81%)	60 (77%)	28 (82%)	76 (94%)	505 (79.5%)
TOTAL	287 (100%)	155 (100%)	78 (100%)	34 (100%)	81 (100%)	635 (100%)

*The combined frames include AIDS as deviant; Socioeconomic/political/cultural/religious; Policy/legal; AIDS as a developing country problem; Global cooperation/interdependence/assistance; Celebrity AIDS; Prevention/education; Routine; Human rights/ethics; Other.

N = 635 Chi-square = 15.16; df = 4; $p \leq 0.01$ (significant).

Table 2
Overall frequencies for main AIDS/HIV news frames for all the wires combined

	Number of stories	Percentage
AIDS as deviant	11	1.7
Medical/scientific	130	20.5
Socioeconomic/political/ cultural/religious	130	20.5
Policy/legal	102	16.1
AIDS as a developing Country problem	39	6.1
Global cooperation/ interdependence/assistance	11	1.7
Celebrity AIDS	30	4.7
Prevention/education	42	6.6
Routine	42	6.6
Human rights/ethics	91	14.3
Other	7	1.1
TOTAL	635	100

N = 635 Chi-square (goodness-of-fit) = 380.31; df = 10; $p \leq 0.001$ (significant).

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Table 3
Cross-comparison between wires in their emphases on the socioeconomic, policy, global and human rights AIDS/HIV news frames

	Reuters	AFP	AP	ITAR-TASS	IPS	TOTAL
Socio-economic, Policy/legal Global, Human rights/ethics	145 (51%)	82 (53%)	39 (50%)	9 (26%)	59 (73%)	334 (52.5%)
Remaining frames combined*	142 (49%)	73 (47%)	39 (50%)	25 (74%)	22 (27%)	301 (47.5%)
TOTAL	287 (100%)	155 (100%)	78 (100%)	34 (100%)	81 (100%)	635 (100%)

*Remaining frames combined include Medical/scientific; AIDS as deviant; AIDS as a developing country problem; Celebrity AIDS; Prevention/education; Routine; Other.

N = 635

Chi-square = 22.96; df = 4; $p \leq 0.001$ (significant).

Table 4
Cross-comparison between world regions and the main news frames associated with them for all the AIDS/HIV wire stories combined

	Developed Regions*	Developing Regions**	Global and UN-related	Former Eastern Bloc, Middle East, N. Africa	TOTAL
Medical/ scientific	102 (30.4%)	15 (7.2%)	6 (16.7%)	7 (12.7%)	130 (20.5%)
Socioeconomic/ political/ cultural/ religious	33 (9.9%)	81 (38.9%)	7 (19.4%)	8 (14.5%)	129 (20.3%)
Policy/legal	63 (18.8%)	24 (11.5%)	2 (5.6%)	13 (23.6%)	102 (16.1%)
Human rights/ethics	71 (21.2%)	15 (7.2%)	1 (2.8%)	4 (7.3%)	91 (14.4%)
Combined frames 1^	19 (5.7%)	51 (24.5%)	16 (44.4%)	6 (10.9%)	92 (14.5%)
Combined frames 2^^	47 (14%)	22 (10.6%)	4 (11.1%)	17 (30.9%)	90 (14.2%)
TOTAL	335 (100%)	208 (100%)	36 (100%)	55 (100%)	634 (100%)

*This combined category includes North America, Western Europe, Developed Asia and Oceania.
**This combined category includes Central America and the Caribbean, Latin America, China, Sub-Saharan Africa and Developing Asia.

^Combined frames 1 includes AIDS as a developing country problem; Global cooperation/interdependence/assistance; Prevention/education.
^^Combined frames 2 includes AIDS as deviant; Celebrity AIDS; Routine; Other.

N = 634 (1 story in the 'other/none' option in the world regions category was not counted).
Chi-square = 193; df = 15; $p \leq 0.001$ (significant).

Table 5
Correlation matrix describing similarities and differences between wires in their main AIDS/HIV news frame emphases

	Reuters	AFP	AP	ITAR-TASS	IPS
Reuters					
AFP	0.87				
AP	0.69	0.82			
ITAR-TASS	0.50	0.13	-0.01		
IPS	0.44	0.70	0.49	0.04	

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Table 6
Overall frequencies for main newsmakers in all the wire AIDS/HIV stories combined

	Number of stories	Percentage
Scientists/researchers/medical, Policy players	474	74.6
Other categories of newsmakers combined*	161	25.4
TOTAL	635	100

*Other categories of newsmakers combined include Corporate; People with AIDS and their friends and families; Activists or other similar groups, social organizations; Celebrities/public figures; Alternative medicine spokespersons; Other/none.

N = 635 Chi-square (goodness-of-fit) = 154.04; df = 1; $p \leq 0.001$ (significant).

Table 7
Distribution of 'official' and alternate newsmakers between 1991 and 1997 in all the wire AIDS/HIV stories combined

	1991-1992	1993-1995	1996-1997	TOTAL
Official newsmakers*	206 (78.6%)	226 (81.3%)	66 (78.6%)	498 (80%)
Alternate newsmakers**	56 (21.4%)	52 (18.7%)	18 (21.4%)	126 (20%)
TOTAL	262 (100%)	278 (100%)	84 (100%)	624 (100%)

*Official newsmakers include Scientists/researchers/medical; Policy players; Corporate
**Alternate newsmakers include People with AIDS and their friends and families; Activists or other similar groups and social organizations; Celebrities/public figures; Alternative medicine spokespersons; Other/none.

Note: The year-by-year breakdown for the Official newsmakers was 75.8% in 1991; 77.8% in 1992; 85.6% in 1993; 77.4% in 1994; 75.6% in 1995; 80.3% in 1996; and 70.8% in 1997.

The year-by-year breakdown for the Alternate newsmakers was 24.2% in 1991; 22.2% in 1992; 14.4% in 1993; 22.6% in 1994; 24.4% in 1995; 19.6% in 1996; and 29.2% in 1997.

N = 624 (11 stories in the 'other/none' option in the principle newsmaker category were not counted).
Chi-square = 0.64; df = 3; $p \leq 0.8$ (not significant).

Table 8
Correlation matrix describing similarities and differences between wires in their main AIDS/HIV newsmaker emphases

	Reuters	AFP	AP	ITAR-TASS	IPS
Reuters					
AFP	0.99				
AP	0.92	0.91			
ITAR-TASS	0.75	0.73	0.92		
IPS	0.57	0.54	0.79	0.94	

Table 9
Overall frequencies for main world regions emphasized in all the wire AIDS/HIV stories combined

	Number of stories	Percentage
Developed Regions*	335	52.8
Developing Regions**	208	32.8
Global and UN-related	36	5.6
Former Eastern Bloc, Middle East, N. Africa	55	8.8
TOTAL	634	100

*This combined category includes North America, Western Europe, Developed Asia and Oceania.
**This combined category includes Central America and the Caribbean, Latin America, China, Sub-Saharan Africa and Developing Asia.

N = 634 (1 story in the 'other/none' option in the world regions category was not counted).
Chi-square (goodness-of-fit) = 374.27; df = 3; $p \leq 0.001$ (significant).

Table 10
Cross-comparison between IPS and the other wires combined in their emphases on AIDS/HIV in various world regions

	Reuters, AFP, AP & ITAR-TASS	IPS	TOTAL
Developed Regions*	329 (59.5%)	6 (7.4%)	335 (52.8%)
Developing Regions**	140 (25.3%)	68 (84%)	208 (32.8%)
Global and UN-related	30 (5.4%)	6 (7.4%)	36 (5.7%)
Former Eastern Bloc, Middle East, N. Africa	54 (9.8%)	1 (1.2%)	55 (8.7%)
TOTAL	553 (100%)	81 (100%)	634 (100%)

*This combined category includes North America, Western Europe, Developed Asia and Oceania.
**This combined category includes Central America and the Caribbean, Latin America, China, Sub-Saharan Africa and Developing Asia.

N = 634 (1 story in the 'other/none' option in the world regions category was not counted).
Chi-square = 114.19; df = 3; $p \leq 0.001$ (significant).

Table 11
Correlation matrix describing similarities and differences between wires in their main AIDS/HIV world region emphases

	Reuters	AFP	AP	ITAR-TASS	IPS
Reuters					
AFP	0.94				
AP	0.34	0.28			
ITAR-TASS	0.34	0.27	0.25		
IPS	0.35	0.32	0.57	0.37	

Table 12
Overall frequencies for volume of coverage by year for all the wire AIDS/HIV stories combined

	Number of stories	Percentage
1991	124	19.5
1992	144	22.7
1993	111	17.5
1994	93	14.6
1995	78	12.3
1996	61	9.6
1997	24	3.8
TOTAL	635	100

N = 635 Chi-square (goodness-of-fit) = 108.38; df = 6; $p \leq 0.001$ (significant)

Table 13
Yearly percentage increase/decline in volume of stories for all the wire AIDS/HIV stories combined

	Percentage increase/decline
1991-1992	16 (increase)
1992-1993	23 (decline)
1993-1994	16 (decline)
1994-1995	16 (decline)
1995-1996	22 (decline)
1996-1997	61 (decline)

Giving peace a chance?
Agenda-building influence of Nobel Peace Prize announcements in U.S. newsmagazines, 1990-1997

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Giving peace a chance?
Agenda-building influence of Nobel Peace Prize announcements in U.S. newsmagazines, 1990-1997

ABSTRACT

This study found no support for an agenda-building influence in U.S. newsmagazines by the Norwegian Nobel Committee's announcement of Peace Prize winners. Stories about the winners were measured for the two years surrounding each announcement since the end of the Cold War. Those not already considered news makers before the announcement received little coverage after the announcement. In stories announcing the winners, greater space was devoted to those already on the news agenda.

Giving peace a chance?
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Late last year, Indonesia announced that it would begin talks regarding the possible independence of East Timor. This was a welcomed prospect for a country that has been dominated, colonized and neglected for 400 years. The struggle of the East Timorese was highlighted internationally when the Norwegian Nobel Committee awarded the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and Jose Ramos-Horta, two champions for peace and human rights in the island's battles with Indonesia. A former Portuguese colony, East Timor was invaded by Indonesia after a military coup and civil war drove away the Portuguese government. Since 1976, Indonesia has claimed the Pacific island as its 27th providence, though the United Nations Security Council and many world governments never recognized the invading government (Nand 1996, B-07).

While the Nobel committee is known for recognizing the efforts of those who work for peace, it is also known for politicizing the prize and using it to bring attention to issues that would normally go unnoticed by the world. The Timorese prize was "an example of the Nobel committee trying to shine a light on a conflict, using the prize to focus world attention on a conflict that is often forgotten" (Goldfarb 1996). The awarding of the prize attempts, more specifically, to put the people and the issues acknowledged by the prize on the world's agenda.

THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

The Nobel Peace Prize was first awarded in 1901 from the estate Alfred Nobel, the inventor of dynamite who wrote in his will that the prize should be awarded to the "person who shall have done the most or the best work for fraternity among nations, for the abolition or reduction of standing armies and for the holding and promotion of peace congresses" (Schück et al. 1951, 12). Nominations are submitted by past or current members of the committee, previous Peace Prize winners, university professors of political science, history and philosophy and certain government officials. The Norwegian Nobel Committee does not release the names of nominees, although the nominees are not prevented from doing so. Nominees have been known to take their cases to the Norwegian press, in an attempt to influence the committee, though the committee writes that such agenda-building on part of the nominees is counterproductive (Nor. Nobel Inst., "The nomination..."). Through the 1990s, announcement of the winners has been made in October and the prize is awarded on the anniversary of Mr. Nobel's death, Dec. 10.

In addition to rewarding those who have made strides toward a more peaceful world, the prize highlights "forgotten struggles" and urges world citizens and leaders to act on these issues. As the committee itself wrote in its announcement of the 1996 winners, "The Nobel Committee hopes that this award will spur efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self- determination" ("The Nobel Peace Prize winners for 1996"). In awarding peace prizes, the committee has encouraged world leaders to intensify efforts toward nuclear disarmament, invited greater participation in the elimination of land mines, expressed hope for increased efforts by grassroots organizations to secure peace, and championed peaceful solutions to religious, ethnic and national conflicts around the world.[1]

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to measure what impact the announcement of Nobel Peace Prize winners may have on the coverage of the winners and their issues in U.S. newsmagazines, to see if the recognition helps build the agenda of news magazines, a first step in the process of ultimately moving the winners' issues onto the people's agenda.

RELATED RESEARCH

While no literature is available on the agenda-building influence of Nobel peace prizes, this annual event poses an opportunity to study international news coverage in U.S. newsmagazines. First, the prize has been awarded annually for over 90 years to people throughout the world, is highly regarded and follows a predictable time table. These factors could facilitate potential high profile coverage of this international news event. Second, agenda-building studies have identified the importance of issue salience thresholds, pointing to the need to study coverage of international issues that the Nobel committee often identify as "forgotten struggles." Finally, newsmagazines are often read by a public interested in getting a more complete picture of the world. While this may be the hope, it is important to determine the diet of news actually presented in newsmagazines.

Agenda Building

Agenda-building mass media studies are an outgrowth of the original agenda-setting studies. Agenda setting refers to the media's ability to raise the importance of an issue in the public's mind. In the first empirical study of agenda setting, McCombs and Shaw (1972) determined a correlation between issues in the media surrounding the 1968 presidential election and what undecided voters regarded as salient and important election issues. Following this study, the focus of agenda-setting studies centered on public issues, including the exploration of contingent conditions, candidate image and political interest as alternative agendas (McCombs 1992). This study of Nobel winners helps build on the fourth stage of agenda-setting research, the one that asks "Who sets the news agenda?" The fourth stage can include research of news sources, journalistic routines or the rhetorical perspectives of news stories (McCombs 1992).

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[1] For examples, see The Norwegian Nobel Institute, "The Nobel Peace Prize for 1995," "The Nobel Peace Prize for 1997," and "The Nobel Peace Prize 1998."

This fourth stage encompasses what is called agenda building, a concept used in political science studies and employed by Lang and Lang (1983) to explore the relationship between the press and public opinion during the Watergate crisis. Agenda building includes several steps, the ones most relevant to this research being:

> - The events and activities in the focus of attention must be "framed," or given a field of meaning within which they can be understood;
> - The media link the activities or events that have become the focus of attention to secondary symbols whose location on the political landscape is easily recognized; and
> - Agenda building is accelerated when well-known and credible individuals begin to speak out on an issue (Severin and Tankard 1997, 265).

In the example of Nobel Peace Prize winners:

- Stories after the announcement of winners have the possibility of being framed based on the committee's statements (see Appendix B);
- The issues championed by the winners could become tied to the winners and their status as peace proponents; and

- The agenda-building process could be accelerated by subsequent speaking engagements accepted by prize winners.

In all of these cases, legitimate agenda-building outcomes could be viewed as news hooks by the media, and have the potential to spawn increased coverage of the winners and their issues.

Since the birth of this fourth stage of agenda-setting study in the 1980s, communications and political science studies have investigated its implications (Cassara 1998; Johnson and Wanta 1996; Ohl et al. 1995; and Shibuya 1996-97). Wanta (1991) continues research on the theme of the first agenda-setting studies — politics — with a look at how a president can interfere with the agenda relationship between the media and the public by presenting an agenda different from that of the press. In their look at local agenda building, Weaver and Elliott (1985) find that the happenings in the city council and committee meetings do influence coverage in the local newspaper. They suggest "a prominent news source can have a major influence on the subsequent media agenda, but selective processes and news judgements of journalists also play a significant part in shaping this agenda." Both studies are important to the issue of the Nobel winners, since the peace prize is often politicized if not specifically political in nature, such as the 1990 award to Gorbachev. Weaver and Elliott (1985) hint at the uncertainty inherent in agenda building, that influences from outside the media organization (i.e. Nobel committee announcements) must compete with the other media content influences, including the influences of individual media workers, media routines, organizational influences and ideological influences (Shoemaker and Reese 1996).

Cobb, Keith-Ross and Ross (1976) offer three models to explain agenda building . The one most applicable here is the "Outside-initiative" model, where issues originate with citizen organizations who raise the issues to the public before the issues reach the government. Despite the fact that the Norwegian Nobel Committee has ties to the Norwegian parliament (to be discussed later), the process of outside nomination may put the committee more in the "public" realm. Also, the announcements are made publicly, not just for government leaders, and committee recommendations for further action on the highlighted issues extend both to citizens and governments. For the committee to be successful in the outside-initiative model of agenda building, then, public awareness becomes a crucial phase.

The amount of coverage given to the people and issues associated with the Nobel Peace Prizes is important to consider. Lang and Lang (1983) found that different issues have different "issue thresholds," demonstrating that more obscure Nobel winners or less salient peace issues may need more press coverage to penetrate the public's agenda. Both Zucker (1978) and Eyal (1979) found that the less obtrusive the issue is, the more the public relies on the press for information, and the more similar are the public and press agendas. International issues of peace, by nature, are issues with which the U.S. public has little personal experience. These studies then reiterate the importance of coverage by the press of less salient international issues.

Newsmagazines

There is an underlying question of how much information on world events the readers of newsmagazines are receiving. First, it must be determined if the diet of international news provided by the main U.S. newsmagazines varies among publications. In a look at the coverage of terrorists in three U.S. newsmagazines, Simmons and Lowry (1990) recorded no distinctions among the three. Similarly, little difference was found between U.S. newsmagazines in a study of global election coverage. Buckman (1993) showed that U.S. newsmagazines covered significantly fewer international events than their foreign counterparts, and that *Newsweek*, *Time* and *U.S. News & World Report* scored closely in newshole space devoted to national and international news, as well as the amount of coverage they gave the foreign elections. As he found, "Subscribers to newsmagazines in the United States and other countries no doubt believe they are diversifying their sources, but as the data indicate, they still may not be getting the full picture" (Buckman 1993, 790).

Despite their large number of subscribers — four million for *Time* and three million for *Newsweek* (Gale Research Co. 1999) — relatively little research has been done exploring newsmagazines. Gerlach (1987) found that only 116 articles concerning newsmagazines were published in *Journalism Quarterly* from 1964 through 1983, or 6 percent of all articles published over 20 years. Therefore, more research on newsmagazines is needed.

METHOD

For this study, U.S. editions of *Time* and *Newsweek* are studied to determine coverage of Nobel Peace Prize winners and issues. These magazines were chosen because they are widely read. Differences among newsmagazines have been tested regarding domestic and international news coverage. Evarts and Stempel (1974) found that — despite of the preconception that more liberal editorial content would be found in *Newsweek*, followed by *Time* and *U.S. New & World Report* — *Time* carried the most liberal coverage of the 1972 campaign and that all newsmagazines had a rightward bias. A study by Gutierrez-Villalobos, Hertog and Rush (1994) found that *Time* and *Newsweek* displayed a similar deference to authority in foreign affairs coverage. In a study of newsmagazine coverage of Mao Tse-tung and Chaing Kai-shek, Yu and Riffe (1989) found that the individual newsmagazine and focus on either leader were not significantly related. Because such similarities between newsmagazines have been found, all figures in this study, unless otherwise noted, indicate a combined total from both periodicals.

Based on the need for research on magazine coverage of international issues, this study will examine one reoccurring event — the announcement of Nobel Peace Price winners — and chronicle its coverage in U.S. newsmagazines since the end of the Cold War. By comparing coverage of the announcement of each prize through the 1990s, it may be discovered whether the Norwegian Nobel Committee regularly builds the agenda of the magazines by influencing the amount of coverage the winners and their issues receive (a first step toward making these international issues salient with the public).

Post-Cold War Laureates

Literature published by the Norwegian Nobel Committee shows that different models for choosing winners have been used throughout periods of world history (Nor. Nobel Inst., "Who has won..."). In an attempt to avoid the pitfall of comparing Nobel winners across different historical periods (and different selection processes), this study will look only at post-Cold War winners (Table 1). This definitive period begins with the 1990 award going to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, then president of the Soviet Union, for helping to end the Cold War (Rule 1990, A-01), and concludes with the 1997 prize, the last year for which there is complete data.

Table 1: Post-Cold War Nobel Peace Prize laureates included in the study, and their achievements toward world peace (for complete citations from the Norwegian Nobel Committee, see Appendix B)

1990 - Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev Awarded to the president of the Soviet Union for championing political change in Eastern Europe and helping to end the cold war. He brought greater openness to the Soviet society, helped slow the arms race and worked toward peaceful solutions to regional conflicts.
1991 - Aung San Suu Kyi Awarded for her non-violent struggle for democracy and human rights in Burma. At the time of the awarding, she had been under house arrest by the military government for two years.
1992 - Rigoberta Menchu Tum Awarded for her campaign for human rights, especially for indigenous peoples in Guatemala. A Quiché Indian, she works for ethno-cultural reconciliation amid the large-scale repression of Indian peoples in Guatemala.
1993 - Frederik Willem de Klerk, Nelson Mandela Awarded to president of the African National Congress and the president of the Republic of South Africa for their work at ending apartheid and moving the country toward peaceful, democratic elections.
1994 - Yasir Arafat, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin Awarded to the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the foreign minister of Israel and the prime minister of Israel for their efforts to create peace in the Middle East.
1995 - Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Joseph Rotblat Awarded for their efforts to diminish the part played by nuclear arms in international politics and in the longer run to eliminate such arms. Rotblat was one of 11 scientists behind the Russell-Einstein Manifesto, which formed the Conferences 40 years ago to recognize the responsibility of scientists for their inventions.
1996 - Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Jose Ramos-Horta Awarded for their work toward a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor, ruled by Indonesia. Since 1975, the island providence has lost an estimated one-third of its population to starvation, epidemics, war and terror.
1997 - Jody Williams, International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) Awarded for their work in clearing anti-personnel land mines and making the international ban of land mines a feasible reality. The ICBL has created a grassroots network for the expression of popular commitment for the reduction of land mines.

For this analysis, two time spans were explored for each year's winner. The first includes the year before the announcement of the winner. Because nominations are due by Feb. 1 (Nor. Nobel Inst., "The nomination..."), the issues and actions for which the winners are nominated should be as much "news" in the previous year as they are when the announcement is made eight months later in October. The second time span looks at the year beginning with the prize announcement and with the date of the announcement of the next year's winner.

Study Sample

The sample for this study was gathered using Lexis-Nexis. A keyword search for each

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winner and time span included the winners' names, countries and causes. Results were compared with the citations of the Norwegian Nobel Committee, to be sure the articles centered on the issues for which the prize was awarded. Articles were then coded as to whether the lauded issue was the focus of the story or a mention within a larger story. Two coders tested the reliability of the selection process with a 97% reliability. Any discrepancies were attributed to choosing between whether the article was a focus or mention story, not whether the article should or should not be included in the analysis. This study "sample" includes the entire pool of stories in *Time* and *Newsweek* that meet the above criteria. Therefore, findings below are based on real numbers, not statistical differences.

To address the first research question, the article is the unit of analysis. An article was counted as any news story, news brief, essay, letter-to-the-editor, editorial or other story brief (i.e. "Perspectives" or "Grapevine" pieces) regardless of length. Cover copy or extended table of contents notations that appeared in the results list were not counted. Letters were included because, like news stories, they are also chosen from a large pool of possible topics. Gatekeepers had to choose letters about the Nobel prize winners, and while letters do not illustrate the same commitment or resources needed for a news story, they are still indications of what the magazine recognizes as important.

To address the second research question, articles on the announcement of the winners were identified and the hard copies of the magazines pulled. The stories, photos and other graphics were measured by square inch. If the announcement information was a portion of a larger story, only the announcement information was measured. All measurements for each year's winners are added to find the total space devoted to the winners each year. The covers and table of contents pages for each of the identified issues were looked at to see if the winner was teased on the cover, the focus of the cover, or highlighted by a photo on the contents page.

The research questions to be answered, then, are:

R1: Comparing coverage before and after the prize announcement, does the Nobel committee's announcement increase the amount of coverage the winners and their issues receive in U.S. newsmagazines?

R2: Looking at announcement stories, what trends can be identified in the amount of space U.S. newsmagazines allot to winners and their issues?

FINDINGS

1. Coverage before and after the announcement. Regarding the first research question, an analysis of coverage of each year's winner across the two time spans indicates that the Nobel committee's announcement does not lead to increased coverage of the winners and their issues (see Table 2). Any increases in coverage seem to be attributable to news events. For example, the 35 percent increase associated with the 1993 prize may be linked to coverage of the first democratic elections in South Africa. The increase in coverage of the 1991,1992 and 1996 winners may be directly attributed to announcement stories, though a rise from two to four in the case of Burma, for example, is hard to quantify as enough to affect the salience of a foreign issue with the U.S. reader. In other cases, coverage actually decreased. The decrease in coverage of the land mine ban may be attributed to the death of Princess Diana (a champion against land mines) before the 1997 award. The decrease surrounding coverage of issues for which Gorbachev was cited may be due to the shift of power to Yeltsin and the breakdown of the Soviet system.

It is true that the Nobel committee acknowledged more areas of achievement for Gorbachev than Menchú, for example, which may partially explain the wide variation in scores. Stories were counted if they dealt with Gorbachev's actions in opening up Soviet society, ending the ban on religion, promoting nuclear disarmament and fostering the peaceful reconfiguration of Eastern Europe. Menchú's scope of acknowledgment was more narrow; her accomplishments dealt with human rights issues of Guatemalans and other indigenous peoples.

Table 2: Number of stories on Nobel Peace Prize winners and their issues the year before versus the year after prize announcement, in two U.S. newsmagazines, 1990-1997

	Year before October announcement	From October announcement through next year
1990 - Gorbachev	f=173 m=108 **total=281**	f=56 m= 71 **total=127**
1993 - South Africa	f=19 m=16 **total=35**	f=38 m=16 **total=54**
1994 - Middle East	f=27 m=7 **total=34**	f=21 m=7 **total=28**
1995 - Nuclear	m=11 **total=11**	f=2 m=6 **total=8**
1992 - Guatemala	**total=0**	f=6 m=1 **total=7**
1997 - Land mines	f=9 m=2 **total=11**	f=2 m=2 **total=4**
1991 - Burma	f=2 **total=2**	f=3 m=1 **total=4**
1996 - East Timor	**total=0**	f=2 **total=2**

KEY: f=stories in which the winners and the issues are the focus
m=stories in which the winners and their issues are mentioned as part of a larger story

Despite this revelation, the trend in coverage is striking. Issues and people who received much attention before the announcement continued to be seen as newsmakers after, and those who received little attention before were still not news after the prize announcement was made. This finding questions the power of the Nobel Peace Prize as a media agenda builder.

And these numbers do not indicate the complete discrepancy between the lesser covered and more covered prize winners. For example, while the 1996 prize was given to a grassroots effort at nuclear disarmament, the only stories that dealt with non-governmental involvement were the two about the announcement of the prize. All other stories, except for one letter to the editor, focused on the U.S. government's attempt to control the nuclear threat from Korea or Russia, for example. Also, the increase in number of stories (zero to seven) after the announcement of Rigoberta Menchú Tum as the 1992 laureate included four letters to the editor. One letter reads, "Now perhaps the world will pay some attention to the genocide taking place in Guatemala" (Letters 1992, 5). While it appears that there are members of the public already informed of Menchú's struggles, the newsmagazines recognized her issues through letters instead of expanded coverage.

2. Attention to prize winners. Regarding the second research question, the space devoted to stories announcing the Nobel Peace Prize winners varied greatly (see Table 3). The mean for total space is 119.54 inches, with the average deviation between individual years and the Post-Cold War mean being 64.80 inches. The announcement of prize winners occurred at the same time — during the second week of October — in each of the eight years. Therefore, newsmagazines had the ability to anticipate the announcement of the winners and work coverage into their news routines. Yet, despite this predictability, the variation displayed in Table 3 shows that the magazines gave almost five times the space to winners from the Middle East as to the four least covered laureates. Soviet Union and South Africa combined got more space than the combined total for East Timor, nuclear disarmament, Burma and Guatemala. The relatively large space devoted to the ban on land mines can be attributed to pictures of Diana, Princess of Wales, which accompanied all stories about Jody Williams and her effort.

(Diana was involved in the movement before her death in 1997.) The scant attention devoted to the East Timorese winners can be partly explained by the fact that *Newsweek* printed no coverage of the winners. For all other years, both magazines included stories on the winners.

Table 3: Space in square inches devoted to announcement of Nobel Peace Prize winners in two U.S. newsmagazines, 1990-1997

	article	photo	other graphic	Total
1994 - Middle East	124.56	124.66	63.14	**312.36**
1990 - Gorbachev	100.68	20.84	34.85	**156.37**
1993 - South Africa	93.74	43.97	11.38	**149.09**
1997 - Land mines	58.89	41.73	—	**100.62**
1992 - Guatemala	48.19	17.87	—	**66.06**
1991 - Burma	45.78	18.29	—	**64.07**
1995 - Nuclear disarmament	46.37	13.84	—	**60.14**
1996 - East Timor	27.05	6.19	14.34	**47.58**

Despite the fact that Rotblat (1995) and Menchú (1992) received so little space for their announcement stories, and so few stories over the two years studied, these were the only two winners whose photos were included in the table of contents page. Yet the addition of these photos (2.625 inches and 0.75 inches, respectively) does not influence the standing they receive when looking at total space.

DISCUSSION

Agenda Setting

Results show no positive effects of the Nobel Peace Prize announcements on the number of stories including information on the winners and their issues, or on the length of announcement stories. This would suggest that the Norwegian Nobel Committee does a poor job of building the agenda of newsmagazines. A case can be made for the fact that the committee does not actively solicit coverage of the winners. The committee simply makes its announcement and waits for the world to react. Committee members are prohibited from discussing the nominee evaluation process (Nor. Nobel Inst., "The Norwegian..."). While the prize's status alone could be an influence on the media's agenda — and while the committee hopes to initiate discussion of the issues it awards — results here do not indicate that this is enough to change the agenda of U.S. newsmagazines.

Results indicate that the newsmagazine-reading public is not being touched by the committee's intentions. But it does not mean that the world is not listening. Newsmagazines are only one source of the public's information on Nobel Peace Prize winners and their issues, and newsmagazines only reach a portion of the public. Further research on this subject should look at the coverage of Nobel Peace Prize winners in other media to see if information is being more effectively conveyed in other ways.

It is also possible that the announcements skip the public and instead move to directly influence the international governmental agendas. Despite the earlier notion that the Nobel committee's agenda-building process follows the outside-initiative model, it is possible that a third model presented by Cobb, Keith-Ross and Ross (1976) more accurately reflects the committee's agenda-building function. In the "Inside Access" model, a governmental group or group with easy access to political decision makers forms an agenda. Because of its close proximity, the issue is automatically put on the political agenda. It does not require mobilization of the public, and expansion of the issue is instead aimed at particular influential groups. The Norwegian Nobel Committee is appointed by a political body, Norway's Sorting (parliament), so it has easy access to the political process. A recent Nobel Peace Prize example that may illustrate the committee's power inside this model is the case of East Timor. Despite poor media coverage of the laureates, the occupying government of Indonesia is considering granting the island independence. The Indonesian government is known to react to pressure from other governments, as has been the case; "...Indonesia tends to respond positively to international pressure, and the prestige of the Nobel Prize tells Jakarta concern about East Timor is not limited to the United States and its liberal friends."[2]

Other Forces

Larger forces such as international news flow and cultural proximity may be in charge. In his look at television coverage of natural disasters, Adams (1986, 122) found that the severity of the disaster accounted less for amount of coverage than did the finding that "the death of one Western European equaled three Eastern Europeans equaled 9 Latin Americans equaled 11 Middle Easterners equaled 12 Asians." A study of regional, non-elite newspapers further sheds light on international news criteria. Cassara (1992) suggests that factors of political power and conflict dominate news choices more than news selection because of economic or cultural ties. A closer evaluation of why Nobel winners such as Gorbachev were hot news, and East Timor barely made a blip, would add to this discussion.

Other more obvious news routines may be at work. For example, newsmagazines regularly have correspondents based in countries such as Russia, and Gorbachev is accessible to journalists through press conferences and interviews. Conversely, few correspondents are assigned to Burma, and even those who are would find it difficult to interview a Nobel laureate who is under house arrest. An evaluation of why correspondents are assigned to Russia instead of Burma, though, would also be telling in an examination of coverage of Nobel prize winners and their issues.

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[2] This belief is attributed to Sydney Jones, executive director of Human Rights Watch, and other human rights analysts, as reported by O'Hara 1996.

On a larger scale, the findings also indicate that news is not "new," that instead it is the same stories that have already attracted the media's attention. As Elliott and Golding (1979, 147) state, news is "essentially a topping-up mechanism, a means of adding to areas of defined interest and importance the latest incremental happenings." Since the struggles of the people of Burma or East Timor were not already defined areas of interest and importance, it was unlikely that a news "event" like the committee announcement would propel them to such a standing.

Future Research

A final area that may be interesting for future research is a look at rhetorical analysis, a technique used to evaluate agenda building. A rhetorical analysis of coverage before and after the announcement, based on the language of the committee's citation, could indicate if the committee did have influence on the contents of news coverage, if not on the amount. A rhetorical analysis would indicate shifts in the news frame of the stories, and show if what has been labeled "business as usual" by a strict story count actually contains some deeper indications of agenda influence.

A key finding in this study is that all winners did get on the agenda, albeit some very sparingly. Research by Perry (1990) on international news shows that inclusion is important and omission is the ultimate negative. What needs to be determined, then, is the impact Nobel coverage has on reader salience. Through audience research, a salience threshold for these foreign, "peace" issues can be determined, to help support the case that some coverage is better

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than no coverage.

While the reader salience of Nobel Peace Prize issues has yet to be established, the reality is that, over two years, U.S. newsmagazines printed only two stories on East Timorese independence and six on Burma's occupation. If this small amount of coverage does not attain the exposure level or the long-term accumulation needed to make the issue salient to the average reader, a lack of salience would likely negate any measurable change in rhetoric that could be attributed to the Nobel committee's agenda-building influence. Instead of finding an agenda-building process, then, all this study can support is a legacy of poor coverage on poorly covered topics, and more coverage on more frequently covered topics.

Appendix A: Nobel Peace Prize Winners, 1901-1998

1901 - Henri Dunant, Frédéric Passy
1902 - Élie Ducommun, Albert Gobat
1903 - William Cremer
1904 - Institute of International Law
1905 - Bertha von Suttner
1906 - Theodore Roosevelt
1907 - Ernesto Moneta, Louis Renault
1908 - Klas Arnoldson, Fredrik Bajer
1909 - Auguste Beernaert, Paul d'Estournelles de Constant
1910 - International Peace Bureau
1911 - Tobias Asser, Alfred Fried
1912 - Elihu Root
1913 - Henri La Fontaine
1914-1916 - not awarded
1917 - International Committee of the Red Cross
1918 - not awarded
1919 - Woodrow Wilson
1920 - Léon Bourgeois
1921 - Karl Branting, Christian Lange
1922 - Fridtjof Nansen
1923-1924 - not awarded
1925 - J. Austen Chamberlain, Charles Dawes
1926 - Aristide Briand, Gustav Stresemann
1927 - Ferdinand Buisson, Ludwig Quidde
1928 - not awarded
1929 - Frank Kellogg
1930 - Nathan Söderblom
1931 - Jane Addams, Nicholas Murray Butler
1932 - not awarded
1934 - Norman Angell
1935 - Carl von Ossietzky
1936 - Carlos Saavedra Lamas
1937 - Robert Cecil
1938 - Nansen International Office for Refugees
1939-1943 - not awarded
1944 - International Committee of the Red Cross
1945 - Cordell Hull
1946 - Emily Greene Balch, John Mott
1947 - American Friends Service Committee, Friends Service Council
1948 - not awarded
1949 - John Boyd Orr
1950 - Ralph Bunche
1951 - Léon Jouhaux
1952 - Albert Schweitzer
1953 - George C. Marshall
1954 - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
1955-1956 - not awarded
1957 - Georges Pire
1959 - Philip Noel-Baker
1960 - Albert Luthuli
1961 - Day Hammarskjöld
1962 - Linus C. Pauling
1963 - International Committee of the Red Cross, League of Red Cross Societies
1964 - Martin Luther King Jr.
1965 - United Nations Children's Fund
1966-1967 - not awarded
1968 - René Cassin
1969 - International Labour Organization
1970 - Norman Borlaug
1971 - Willy Brandt
1972 - not awarded
1973 - Henry Kissinger, Le Duc Tho
1974 - Sean MacBride, Eisaku Sato
1975 - Andrei Sakharov
1976 - Mairead Corrigan, Betty Williams
1977 - Amnesty International
1978 - Menachem begin, Anwar Sadat
1979 - Mother Teresa
1980 - Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
1982 - Alfonso Garcia Robles, Alva Myrdal
1983 - Lech Walesa
1984 - Desmond Tutu
1985 - International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
1986 - Elie Wiesel
1987 - Oscar Arias Sánchez
1988 - United Nations Peacekeeping Forces
1989 - Dalai Lama
1990 - Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev
1991 - Aung San Suu Kyi
1992 - Rigoberta Menchú Tum
1993 - Frederik Willem de Klerk, Nelson Mandela
1994 - Yasir Arafat, Shimon Peres, Yitzhak Rabin
1995 - Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, Joseph Rotblat
1996 - Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, Jose Ramos-Horta
1997 - Jody Williams, International Campaign to Ban Landmines
1998 - John Hume, David Trimble

Source: McGuire 1992, 11-12 and The Norwegian Nobel Institute, "List of laureates."

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Appendix B: Citations from the Norwegian Nobel Committee

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1997
International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and Jody Williams

The Norwegian Nobel Committee has decided to award the Nobel Peace Prize for 1997, in two equal parts, to the International Campaign to Ban Landmines (ICBL) and to the campaign's coordinator Jody Williams for their work for the banning and clearing of anti-personnel mines.

There are at present probably over one hundred million anti-personnel mines scattered over large areas on several continents. Such mines maim and kill indiscriminately and are a major threat to the civilian populations and to the social and economic development of the many countries affected.

The ICBL and Jody Williams started a process which in the space of a few years changed a ban on anti-personnel mines from a vision to a feasible reality. The Convention which will be signed in Ottawa in December this year is to a considerable extent a result of their important work.

There are already over 1,000 organizations, large and small, affiliated to the ICBL, making up a network through which it has been possible to express and mediate a broad wave of popular commitment in an unprecedented way. With the governments of several small and medium-sized countries taking the issue up and taking steps to deal with it, this work has grown into a convincing example of an effective policy for peace.

The Norwegian Nobel Committee wishes to express the hope that the Ottawa process will win even wider support. As a model for similar processes in the future, it could prove of decisive importance to the international effort for disarmament and peace.

Source: The Norwegian Nobel Institute, "The Nobel Peace Prize for 1997."

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1996
Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta

The Norwegian Nobel Committee has decided to award the Nobel Peace Prize for 1996, in two equal parts, to Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo and José Ramos-Horta for their work towards a just and peaceful solution to the conflict in East Timor.

In 1975 Indonesia took control of East Timor and began systematically oppressing the people. In the years that followed it has been estimated that one-third of the population of East Timor lost their lives due to starvation, epidemics, war and terror.

Carlos Belo, bishop of East Timor, has been the foremost representative of the people of East Timor. At the risk of his own life, he has tried to protect his people from infringements by those in power. In his efforts to create a just settlement based on his people's right to self-determination, he has been a constant spokesman for non- violence and dialogue with the Indonesian authorities. Ramos-Horta has been the leading international spokesman for East Timor's cause since 1975. Recently he has made a significant contribution through the "reconciliation talks" and by working out a peace plan for the region.

In awarding this year's Nobel Peace Prize to Belo and Ramos-Horta, the Norwegian Nobel Committee wants to honour their sustained and self-sacrificing contributions for a small but oppressed people. The Nobel Committee hopes that this award will spur efforts to find a diplomatic solution to the conflict in East Timor based on the people's right to self- determination.

Source: The Norwegian Nobel Institute, "The Nobel Peace Prize winners for 1996."

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1995
Joseph Rotblat and the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs

The Norwegian Nobel Committee has decided to award the Nobel Peace Prize for 1995, in two equal parts, to Joseph Rotblat and to the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs, for their efforts to diminish the part played by nuclear arms in international politics and in the longer run to eliminate such arms.

It is fifty years this year since the two atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and forty years since the issuing of the Russell-Einstein Manifesto. The Manifesto laid the foundations for the Pugwash Conferences, which have maintained a high level of activity to this day. Joseph Rotblat was one of the eleven scientists behind the Manifesto, and has since been the most important figure in the Pugwash work.

The Conferences are based on the recognition of the responsibility of scientists for their inventions. They have underlined the catastrophic consequences of the use of the new weapons. They have brought together scientists and decision- makers to collaborate across political divides on constructive proposals for reducing the nuclear threat.

The Pugwash Conferences are founded in the desire to see all nuclear arms destroyed and, ultimately, in a vision of other solutions to international disputes than war. The Pugwash Conference in Hiroshima in July this year declared that we have the opportunity today of approaching those goals. It is the Committee's hope that the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1995 to Rotblat and to Pugwash will encourage world leaders to intensify their efforts to rid the world of nuclear weapons.

Source: The Norwegian Nobel Institute, "The Nobel Peace Prize for 1995."

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1993
Frederik Willem de Klerk and Nelson Mandela

The Nobel Committee said Mr. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela, almost universally regarded as the last white President and the first black President of South Africa, had displayed "personal integrity and great political courage" in finding a middle ground in the bitterly polarized politics of South Africa.

"South Africa has been the symbol of racially conditioned suppression," the committee said, announcing the $825,000 award in Oslo. "Mandela's and de Klerk's constructive policy of peace and reconciliation also points the way to the peaceful resolution of similar deep-rooted conflicts elsewhere in the world."

Source: Keller 16 Oct. 1993.

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1992
Rigoberta Menchú Tum

Menchu was selected for the $1.2 million prize, the committee said, "in recognition of her work for social justice and ethno-cultural reconciliation." Amid the "large-scale repression of Indian peoples" in Guatemala, she plays a "prominent part as an advocate of native rights."

Source: Nelan 26 Oct. 1992.

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1991
Aung San Suu Kyi

Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi was commended for her "non-violent struggle for democracy and human rights," said the Norwegian Nobel Committee, which awarded the $ 1 million prize.

The committee said it "wishes to honor this woman for her unflagging efforts and to show its support for the many people throughout the world who are striving to attain democracy, human rights and ethnic conciliation by peaceful means."

The committee said Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi's "struggle is one of the most extraordinary examples of civil courage in Asia in recent decades."

Source: Atlanta Journal and Constitution News Services 14 Oct. 1991.

The Nobel Peace Prize for 1990
Mikhail Gorbachev

"During the last few years," the five-member Nobel Committee said in its official announcement, "dramatic changes have taken place in the relationship between East and West. Confrontation has been replaced by negotiations. Old European nation-states have regained their freedom.

"The arms race is slowing down, and we see a definite and active process in the direction of arms control and disarmament. Several regional conflicts have been solved or have at least come closer to a solution. The U.N. is beginning to play the role which was originally planned for it in an international community governed by law.

"These historic changes spring from several factors, but in 1990 the Nobel Committee wants to honor Mikhail Gorbachev for his many and decisive contributions. The greater openness he has brought about in Soviet society has also helped promote international trust."

Source: Rule, 16 Oct. 1990.

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